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Edited by
Shaphalya Amatya

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A Renovation of Svayambhunath-Stupa in the 18th Century and its History

(according to Tibetan sources)

-Franz-Karl Ehrhard

If one climbs the steep stone steps situated in the east up to the stupa of Svayambhunath and starts walking around the stupa in the prescribed direction, one comes upon the Tibetan monastery known under the name Drugpa Kagyu Gompa. Opposite the stairs leading to the shrine room in the first floor, next to the entrance into the Murtisangralaya Museum, there stands a man-sized stone covered with an inscription in Newari and Tibetan. As early as 1877 a first translation of the Newari text was available, rendered according to the text of a "Buddhist chronicle" (*vamsavali*),[1] and recently the Tibetan portion has been translated into Nepali.[2] This inscription describes one renovation of Svayambhunath Stupa extending over a period of eight years, namely from 1751 to 1758.

Rather than going into the details of the actual inscription, such as the list of materials used during the renovation work, or the exact account of the start and end of construction, I should like in the following to restrict myself to taking a closer look at the renvoation's background. This is done with the intention of placing the person of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu (1698-1755), a teacher of the rNying-

1. D. Wright : *History of Nepal* (translate from Parbatiya by Munshi Shew Shunker Singh and Pandit Sri Gunakand), First Edition, Cambridge 1877; Third Edition, Calcutta 1966, pp. 155—157. The rendering of the "longue inscription bilingue" in S. Levi: *Le Nepal: Etude Historique d'un Royaume Hindou*, Tome 2, First Edition, Paris 1905; Second Edition, Paris 1985/86, pp. 5-6, is based on this translation.

2. Ramesh Dhungel: "Svayambhu Sthita Syamarapa Lama Dasanko Tibbati Abhilekha ra Tyasako Nepali Anuvada ", *Nepal Economist*, no. 6 (May-June 1988), pp. 4-11. I owe this bibliographic reference to Mr. Mahesh Raj Pant.

ma-pa school from Kah-thog in Khams (East Tibet), more in the centre of the account. In my opinion too little attention has been devoted hitherto to him and to his role during the renovation.

That special significance should be attached to Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu in the context of the renovation may be inferred from the inscription's first lines :

"Om svasti ! I bow down to all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. In all times and in all forms I bow down to the spotless lotus feet of the glorious teacher, the excellent rDo-rje Tshe-bdang nor-bu, and take refuge in him"

(*om svasti/sangs rgyas dang byang / chub sems dpa' thams cad la phyag 'tshal lo / dpal ldan bla ma dam pa rdo rje tshe dbang nor bu'i zhabs kyi padmo dri ma med pa la dus dang rnam pa thams cad du phyag 'tshal zhing skyabsu mchi'o*)

Following a laudation of the stupa the next lines of the inscription speak of the necessity of the planned renovation; in doing so they attach the following honorifies to Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu :

"Head ornament of all scholars and siddhas, knowledge holder (*vidyadhara*), ruler over all worlds (*cakravartin*), noble rDo-rje Tshe-dbang nor-bu."

(*mkhas pa dang grub pa thams cad kyi gtsug rgyan du 'gyur pa rig pa 'dzin pa yongs kyi 'khor lo bsgyur ba 'i dbang phyug dpal rdo rje tshe dbang nor bu*).

Who is then this teacher from the first half of the 18th century, and what information do we have about him ? In an article from the year 1967 Hugh E. Richardson makes the following remarks concerning the person of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu:

"Tshe-dbang nor-bu was born in 1698 in the Sa-ngan region of East Tibet and was soon recognized as the reincarnation of one Grub-dbang Padma nor-bu who carried on the spiritual line of gNubs Nam-mkha'i snying-po, a teacher at the time of Khri Srong-lde-btsan .... Tshe-dbang nor-bu studied with the leading rNying-ma-pa teachers and also with those of the Karmapa with whom Kah-thog had a close connection. Among the skills he developed was that of *gter-stop*, discoverer of religious texts and objects believed to have been concealed in the remote past. He travelled widely and his activities included the founding or repairing of monasteries in Western Tibet and in Sikkim, and the repair of *mchod—rten* (stupas) in Nepal. He was greatly revered by Pho-lha-nams stobs-rgyas, the ruler of Tibet; and in 1751/52 when trouble arose between the princes of upper and lower Ladakh and there was danger af interference by the Dzungar masters of Kashgaria, Pho-la and the VII. Dalai Lama commissioned him to restore peace ..... From Ladakh he went to Nepal and not long after, in about 1755, he died at sKyid-grong where is a *mchod-rten* containing his relics."[3]

In the meantime the collected writings of this "Tibetan Antiquarian" have become available to us : 1. *Selected Writings of Kah—thog Rig- 'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu*, 4 vols.,

3. Hugh E. Richardson : "A Tibetan Antiquarian in the XVIIIth Century", *Bulletin of Tibetology*, vol. IV, no. 3 (1967), p.8. Biographical material relating to Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu was at the same time drawn upon by R.A. Stein in his article "Nouveavx Documents Tibetains sur le Mi nag/Si-hia" in *Melanges de Sinologie offerts a Monsieur Paul Demievielle*, Paris 1966, pp. 286-287.

Darjeeling, W. B. 1973—1982, and 2. *Collected Works of Kah-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu*, 6 vols., Dalhousie 1977. For present purposes I shall refer principally to the detailed biography of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu in vol. 1 of the *Collected Works*,[4] as well as to supplementary material from vol. 1 of the *Selected Writings*. I shall proceed by introducing individual episodes from the biography in order to follow the course of events leading to the renovation of Svayambhunath.

Towards the end of the year 1726 Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu for the first time spent some time in the Kathmandu valley; he arrived via Ding-ri and gNya'-nang. But after visiting the two stupas of Svayambhunath and Bodhnath, as well as other pilgrim sites such as Yang-le-shod (=Pharping), he soon left the Valley, via the north-western route. Thus we find him in the year 1727 in sKyid-grong, where he visits the famous Avalokitesvara statue 'Phags-pa Wa-ti[5] and goes about his spiritual practices at the "six forts" (*rdzong drug*) and three caves" (*phug gsum*) of the yogin Mi-la-ras-pa (1040—1123), (*Biography*, pp. 119—128).

The first reference to activities undertaken by Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu in connection with repairs to a stupa in Nepal can be dated to the beginning of the year 1728. It is at this point in time that he receives from South Tibet, i. e. from the province of gTsang, the summons to bring the repair activities at the stupa of Bodhnath to their conclusion with a consecration ceremony (*rab gnas*). This summons comes from bSod-nams stobs-rgyas from Pho-lha (1689-1747), the ruler (or "king" of Tibet, whose reign falls in the years 1728 to 1747. We are lucky to have a detailed study by L. Petech on the political role played by Pho-lha-ba bSod-nams stobs-rgyas and the power struggles in Tibet during the first half of the 18th century and we are therefore in a position to identify the motive for this renovation of Bodhnath Stupa: before his battle campaign in Central Tibet, which led to the ending of the Tibetan civil war of 1727–1728 and to his establishing himself as the ruler of Tibet, Pho-lha-ba bSod-nams stobs-rgyas has the stupa of Bodhnath given a face lifting in order to conjure a happy end to his plans.[6] Thus Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu, then only thirty years old, already

4. *dPal rig 'dzin po rdo rje tshe dbang nor bu'i zhabs kyi (s) rnam par thar pa'i cha shas brjod pa ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho*, 187 fols., in *Collected Works*, vol. 1, pp. 1–376. The author of this biography, which was completed in the year 1819, is Brag-dkar rta-so sprul-sku Chos-kyi dbang-phyug(*1775), who via his teacher Karma 'Phrin-las bdud-'joms(1726-1789) is in the lineage of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu (Abbr.: *Biography*).

5. Four such Avalokitesvara statues are generally distinguished; on the tradition of these statues and their connection with Nepal see T. Wylie: *A Tibetan Religious Geography of Nepal* (= *Serie Orientale Roma* XLII), Rome 1970, pp. 14–16 (fn. 20), Keith Dowman; "A Buddhist Guide to the Power Places of the Kathmandu Valley", *Kailash: A Journal of Himalayan Studies*, vol. VIII, nos. 3/4 (1981) pp. 233–235, and J.K. Locke, S.J.: *The Cult of Avalokitesvara-Matsyendranath in the Valley of Nepal*, Kathmandu 1980, pp. 352 ff.

6. L. Petech: *China and Tibet in the Early XVIIIth Century* (= *Monographies du T'oung Pao*, vol. I), Second, Revised Edition, Leiden 1972, P. 122:"P'o-lha-nas was marching back to gTsan ..... He encamped at Lu-ma-dgo-dmar, where he decided, as an auspicious deed

commanded enough spiritual authority to be entrusted with the concluding act of the renovation (*Biography*, pp. 127—129).

This is not, however, Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu's final contact with Pho-lha-ba bSod-nams stobs-rgyas and the stupa of Bodhnath. In the year 1747, shortly before the death of Tibet's ruler, we find him, now barely fifty, in Pho-lha-ba's presence in lHa-sa. Also taking part in the rituals that Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu carries out on Pho-lha-ba are the EighthSi-tu Rin-po-che Chos-kyi 'byung-gnas (1700-1774) and the Seventh dPa'-bo Rin-po-che dPa'-bo gTsug-lag dga'-ba (died 1781). The Seventh 'Brug-chen Rin-po-che- bKa'-brgyud 'Phrin-las shing rta (1718-1766) is also mentioned (*Biography*, pp. 196-198). Shortly thereafter Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu again sets off towards Nepal, with the purpose of renovating the stupa of Bodhnath.[7] I would not rule out the possibility that this renovation, too, grew out of a desire on the part of Pho-lha-ba bSod-nams stobs-rgyas, this time to insure success to the continuation of his policies under his youngest son, 'Gyur-med rnam-rgyal.

Be that as it may, when Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu comes to Kathmandu via sKyid-grong in 1748, there to have, without much difficulty, reparations undertaken on Bodh-nath Stupa and to round them off once again with a consecration ceremony, he meets his friend and colleague whom he has known since the 1720s, and who likewise is on his second trip to Nepal : the EighthSi-tu Rin-po-che. Shortly after his arrival in the Valley Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang looks him up in Kimdol Vihara, a Buddhist Newar monastery located on a hill to the south of Svayambhunath Stupa (*Biography*, pp. 206-211).[8]

Perhaps it would not be inappropriate to include at this point information provided by E. G. Smith concerning the EighthSi-tu Rin-po-che :

"In 1748, Si-tu had the opportunity to pay another visit to Nepal. It is possible that he went entrusted with some official commission from the Tibetan Government. He was received warmly by Jayaprakasamalla of Kathmandu (1736-1768). Ranajitmalla of Bhatgaon (1722-1769) presented him with a manuscript *Amarakosa* commentary. His

of propiation for victory, to restore the decayed Stupa of Bya-run K'a-sor in Nepal. He issued orders that the revenue of K'yun-rdson-dkar-po, bKyid-gron and Sa-dga 'be set aside for this purpose, and deputed two officials for the task, which was to be finished by the 11th month of the same year."

7. A letter has been preserved that Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu sent to his native province before departing for Nepal, *Selected Writings*, vol.1, pp. 732-735: *Me yos mchod rten bya ri kam sho ma'i zhig gso la phebs mdo khams su ltos bcas rnams la ras dgon nas gnang ba* ("Letter written in 1747 to friends in Khams just befor his departure for Nepal to undertake restorations at Bodhnath"). Concerning his *Ras dgon* Monastery see *Biography*, p. 205.

8. On Kimdol Vihara see K. Dowman (as in fn. 5), pp.205-208, and J.K. Locke, S. J. : *Buddhist Monasteries of Nepal*, Kathmandu 1985, pp. 401-402. A picture of the monastery after a Tibetan block print is found in R. Kaschewsky: "Zu einigen tibetischen Pilgerplatzen in Nepal ', *Zetralasiatische Studien*, vol.16 (1982), p. 11 (illustration 3).

account of his meeting with Prthvinarayana Saha at the Gorkha Fortress is fascinating yet distressing because of its brevity. During his stay in Nepal, he was able to complete a translation of a short *Svayambhupurana*."[9]

Kimdol Vihara is mentioned again when, three years later, in the year 1751, Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu once more visits Kathmandu, causing great excitement among the population. In between there are trips to gTsang, where, among others, he meets the Third Pan-chen bLa-ma Blo-bzang dpal-ldan ye-shes (1737-1780), and to lHa-sa; there he again meets the Seventh' Brug-chen Rin-po-che and the Seventh dPa'-bo Rin-po-che. In mTshur-pu, to the northeast of lHa-sa, he gives teachings to the younger generation of the Thirteenth Karma-pa bDud-'dul rdo-rje (1733-1791) and the Tenth Zhva-dmar-pa Chos-grub rgya-mtsho (1742-1792), and of course the Eighth Si-tu Rin-po-che is not far away either (*Biography*, pp. 217-236).

But contact with Nepal does not break off during this period; a letter has been handed down, for instance, which Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu addressed to the king and ministers of Kathmandu in the year 1749.[10] In it is the first mention of the renovation of the stupa of Svayambhunath that Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu considers undertaking. A bit later on there are words to the effect that he desired to bring offering gifts in that year (i. e. 1749) to the stupa of Svayambhunath, but that he had to change his plans (*Biography*, p. 225). Finally, we learn in clear terms that at the end of the renovation of the stupa of Bodhnath in 1748 the rNying-ma-pa bla-ma from Khams

9. *The Autobiographie and Diaries of Si-tu Pan-chen* (=*Sata-Pitaka-Series*, vol. 77), New Delhi 1968, Introduction, p. 11. The description of the visit in 1748 is found in pp. 263-270 of the text; the first visit of Si-tu Rin-po-che in the year 1723, ibid., pp. 113-130. At that time, too, Si-tu Rin-po-che stayed in the Newar monastery of Kimdol; we can therefore assume that up to the middle of the 18th century there was no Tibetan monastery to be found on the hill of Svayambhu Stupa that might have served as a residence for the lamas. On the activities of Si-tu Rin-po-che in the field of Sanscrit lexicography see *The Amarakosa in Tibet* (= *Sata-Pitaka-Series*, vol. 38), New Delhi 1965, Preface, pp. 11—14. His translation of the *Svayambhupurana* is now available under the title *Bal yul rang byung mchod rten chen po'i lo rgyus*, 30 fols., in *Bal yul mchod rten gsum gyi lo rgyus dang gnas bshad can rna ba'i bdud rtsi*: *A Collection of Guide Books to the Three Great Stupas of the Kathmandu Valley*, place of publ. unmentioned, 1983, pp. 3-61. As the colophon shows (ibid., p. 60), Si-tu Rin-po-che was urged to make the translation by Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu.

10. *Selected Writings*, vol. 1, pp. 737-741 : *Bal yul gyi rje bo dang 'dun pa chen po rnams la bsrings pa* ("Verse communication to the notables of Nepal written in 1749"). I assume that this is the written reply mentioned in the *Biography*, p. 217. 4-5. For the period between 1749 and 1751 we also have an autobiographical text of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu in *Collected Works*, vol. 1, pp. 531-559 : *Rig pa 'dzin pa tshe dbang nor bu rang nyid kyi spyad rabs las phyung ba lu ma nas snyem pa'i chu ltar sa bon tsam zhig smon pa* ("Autobiographical account covering the years 1749-1751"), 14 fols.

expressed the desire to put Svayambhunath Stupa, too, back into presentable shape; this plan, due to adverse circumstances, however, though approved by the king of Kathmandu Jayaprakasamalla (1735-1768), and the king of Gorkha Prthvinarayan Saha (1743-1775), could not be carried out for three years (*Biography*, pp. 251-256).

When, in the year 1751, work on the stupa can finally commence, all signs point to its successful completion. The gods Mahadeva-Ganes and Kumara-Karttikeya (both sons of Siva), who are willing to guarantee the materials for the renovation, manifest themselves, and Visnu in the form of a Brahman gives instructions that a pillar (skt. *yasti*) should be chosen for the repair work which is similiar to a "sacrificial post for the gods".[11] Not to be outdone by the gods, Jayaprakasamalla also promises his aid, and Prthvinarayan Saha takes upon himself the task of erecting the pillar. This information is contained in the stone inscription and -in the same wording- in Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu's biography (*Biography*, pp. 258-259). It is further recorded that, during this occasion, a stone quarry and a fresh spring came to light on Kimdol Hill.[12]

In spite of this promising beginning, however, work did not advance speedily, as Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu was charged by the Seventh Dalai bLa-ma sKal-bzang rgya-mtsho (1708-1757) with the political mission of laying to rest local feuds in Ladakh and

11. The Tibetan rendering of Skt. *yasti* is *srog shing*. Cf. J. Irwin: "The Axial Symbolism of the Early Stupa: An Exegesis", in *The Stupa: Its Religious, Historical and Architectural Significance*, ed. A. L. Dallapiccola (=*Beitrage zur Sudasienforschung*, vol. 55), Wiesbaden 1980, p. 16: "The Tibetan term for the axial pillar of a stupa is *srog-shing*, literally, 'life-wood', corresponding in our own language to 'Tree of Life'. For 'sacrificial post' (*mchod sdong*) a native dictionary gives the etymology 'post for a fire offering' (*mchod me'i sdong bu*). On the problem involved in interpreting the pillar as a sacrificial post see J. Irwin, ibid., pp. 13-15. Compare on this point A. W. Macdonald and A. V. Stahl: *Newar Art*, New Delhi 1979, p. 63: "The Buddhist *stupa* too, and there are many *stupas* which have been erected by Newars in the Kathmandu Valley, derives from the fire-altar. It too represents the universe."

12. See A. W. Macdonald and Dvags-po Rin-po-che: "A Little-Read Guide to the Holy Places of Nepal- Part II", in A. W. Macdonald: *Essays on the Ethnology of Nepal and South Asia*, Kathmandu, 1987, p. 105: ".....on the hill of the "Pile of Barley" are found traces of the exhumation of a treasure of stones which was offered by the great and powerful auspicious gods to Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu, at the time of the restoration of the large *stupa*, and a new spring." Cf. also ibid., p. 117: "In our time, when restoration was carried out at Svayambhu, a stone quarry was discovered and a new spring burst forth", and p. 119: "At the time when the big *stupa* was being restored, stones appeared where there had been previously none, along with a spring, and everyone was astonished. I have heard it said that there really were many auspicious signs on that occasion." The author of this "description of localities" (*gnas bshad*) is the Fourth Khams-sprul Rin-po-che Chos-kyi nyi-ma (1730-1780).

stemming possible attempts by the Dzungars to bring their influence to bear there (*Biography*, pp. 263 ff.)[13] Thus the renovation is again delayed for some time, i. e. progresses in fits and starts.

It would go beyond the bounds of this brief account to reproduce all the items in Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu's biography in the years between 1752 and 1755 having to do with the stalled work on the stupa. They are, in any case, numerous and bear witness to the fact that this project occupied the final years of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu's life. Of particular interest is the information concerning the fashioning of the pillar and the roles Jayaprakasamalla and Prthvinarayan Saha play during the prolonged renovation. Finally, in the year 1755, the pillar is erected, and in the context of a description of the end of this first stage an earlier renovation is recalled, that undertaken by gTsang- smyon He-ru-ka (1452-1507) and his disciple lHa-btsun Rin-chen rnam-rgyal (1473-1557) (*Biography*, pp. 313 ff.).[14] In this context, too, one finds a catalogue" (*dkar chag*) of the repair work (*Biography*, pp. 331-335).

Soon after the pillar has been erected and the accompanying ceremonies conducted, Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu retires again to sKyid-grong and dies shortly afterwards. The story of the renovation, however, does not end there. Testifying to this fact is, above all, the second part of the stone inscription, where the year 1758 in given as the date of the final consecration. In order, in conclusion, to take in with a glance this period of time, I shall draw upon a second biography of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu, which in seven folios documents the most important events.[15]

There we learn that before his departure for sKyid-grong Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu expressly asks his disciples to see the work still to be done on Svayambhu Stupa through to completion. Among them it is one "priest" (*mchod dpon*) in particular, bsTan-'dzin rdo-rje, who assumes responsibility for

13. See the information provided by H.E. Richardson (as in fn. 3); the summons to go on this mission comes only from the Seventh Dalai bLa-ma not from Pho-lha-ba bSod-nams stobs-rgyas, who by this time is already three years dead. Concerning the attempted execise of Dungar influence in Ladakh, which occured at the end of the brief reign of 'Gyur-med rnam-rgyal, the last king of Tibet (1747-1750) , see L. Petech (as in fn. 6), pp. 232-233.

14. On this renovation under the first king of the Malla dynasty of Kathmandu, Ratnamalla (1484-1520), see *The Life of the Saint of Gtsang* (=*Sata-Pitaka-Series,* vol. 79), New Delhi 1969, Preface, p. 12. A detailed "catalogue" (*dkar chag*) of the repair work completed in the year 1504 is contained in the text portion, pp. 220-226.

15. *dPal rig 'dzin kah thog pa chen po tshe dbang nor bu'i zhabs kyi rnam thar mdor bsdus dad pa'i sa bon*, 7 fols., in *Collected Works*, vol. 1, pp. 377-391. This text was written 1818, likewise by Brag-dkar rta-so sprul-sku Chos-kyi dbang-phyug. It was inserted by Khetsun Sangpo into his *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism*, vol. IV, pp. 375-382.

Acknowledgements : Thanks are due to Mr. Philip Pierce for his meticulous translation work and to Mrs. Hildegard Diemberger for the identification of the statue of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu.

the repair work. With the support of the Seventh 'Brug-chen Rin-po-che, then, work is completed in the year 1757. The consecration is finally performed the following year by the Seventh dPa'-bo Rin-po-che. Ten years have thus elapsed from the time in 1748 when, at the conclusion of the cenovation of the stupa of Bodhnath, Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu made the decision to preserve Svayambhunath Stupa, too, from the decay of time.

But as the final lines of the inscription prove, even the stone that recorded this event could not escape decay but had to be restored along with the inscription at a later point in time.

Statue of Kah-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor bu (1698-1755) in the Murtisangralaya Museum at Svayambhunath

Nepalese Thakali at Gyantse (1905–1938)

-Dr. Tirtha Prasad Mishra

Nepal and Tibet have a chequered history of relations extending back to several centuries. Till the opening of the present century, Tibet the "Roof of the World", was virtually a 'Forbidden Land' or 'Land of Mystery' for the outside world. But the case was entirely different with regard to Nepal as the two countries were closely connected due to geographical proximity. It is generally assumed that Nepal had some sort of Socio-religious and economic connection with Tibet even before the latter was recognized as a political power.[1] However, the formal relations between the two countries was inaugurated only in the early part of the seventh century. Nepal-Tibet relation entered into a new phase during the mid-seventeenth century when a commercial treaty was signed between the two nations. The Kathmandu King, Pratap Malla, had compelled Tibet to sign this dictated treaty after waging a war against her.[2] The treaty in many ways facilitated Kathmandu to extend its influence, specially the commercial one, in the land of the Lamas. The Newari merchant community was permitted to establish thirty-two trading marts at Tibet and the treaty empowered the Kathmandu King to station his agent (Naya) in the Tibetan capital, Lhasa. The treaty further forced Tibet to exempt all kinds of duties on commercial goods of the Newari traders. The greatest achievement of this treaty was that Nepal obtained the right to mint coins for Tibet.[3] The treaty was proved very beneficial to Nepal because the

1) Very little is known of the early history of Tibet. According to the Chinese records during the period of Chou dynasty (1122–256 B. C.) the Tibetan plateau was inhabited by the barbarian tribes called Ch'iang. At the beginning of the seventh century a strong tribal leader Lung tsen emerged in Tibet. He conquered other tribes and founded a Kingdom. After his death song tsen Gampo ascended the throne. Gregorio F. Zaide, *History of the Asian Nations*, Phillipinesa, National Book Store : 1969, pp. 170-74.

2) Chitaranjan Nepali, "Nepal Ra Tibet Ko Sambandha : *Pragati*, No. 10 (2014 B. S.) pp. 105–6.

3) *Ibid.*

Newari merchants not only virtually monopolised the bulky trade between India and Tibet but also provided Kathmandu a huge profit by minting the coins. As time rolled on, other two principalities of the Kathmandu valley, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur were also involved in the lucrative trade. In this way Nepalese trade gained momentum in Tibet resulting the settlements of the Newari traders in the different parts of the plateau. It is said the government started a tradition of appointing *Thakali* in the various parts of the commercial centre. The government used to nominate one of the merchants as *Thakali* with a view to protect and promote the commercial interest in Tibet. After the unification of Nepal the same situation continued as the Shah Kings did not like to change it. Nepal got upper hand in the Tibetan affairs through the treaty of 1789, which, however, proved short lived. Nepal had to sign a humuliating treaty with China in 1792 and had to loose the minting rights. However, the Nepalese trader's commercial dominance was not affected adversely.

The 1856 treaty of Thapathali once again guaranteed the Nepalese right of extra-territoriality[4] and the Nepalese traders could utilise Tibet as a 'traders paradise'. The Nepalese *Vakil* (the status of Nayo was upgraded by this treaty) at Lhasa and *Thakali*s of the different places naturally become more responsible and powerful. Unlike the *Vakils*, the *Thakalis* were not the government officials. As focussed earlier, the Nepalese government used to nominate one of the local traders in the post of *Thakali* in the different trade centres like Shigatse, Gyantse, Kuti and Kerroung. (It is assumed that the government used to entertain the *Vakil's* recommendation in appointing the *Thakalis*)). The *Thakalis* were the sole medium of communication between the Nepalese traders and *Vakils* at Lhasa. They were also a main source of communication for the Home government.

Establishment of Gyantse Adda

The Lhasa convention of 1904 authorised the British Indian Government to appoint Trade agent at Gyantse.[5] The convention also channelized the Indo-Tibet trade through Chumbi hitherto not officially opened for the trade and commercial traffic. In this changed context Chandra Shumshere thought the extreme necessity to take some measures to ward off the vital Nepalese interests through out in Tibet in general and at Gyantse in particular. In realisation of Nepalese aspirations the Nepalese Maharaja ventured to strengthen the status of the *Thakali* at Gyantse with the following motives :

(i) After the conclusion of the Lhasa convention, the Nepalese government naturally worried and positively doubted about the prospects of loosing its interests in Tibet. The traditional *Thakali* (Head man) of Gyantse seemed quite incompetent to preserve the Nepalese interest at Gyantse after the physical presence of the British Trade Agent in that place.

(ii) Secondly a capable government official was thought necessary in undertaking

4) Prem R. Uprety, *Nepal-Tibet Relations 1850-1930*, Kathmandu, Puga Nara : 1980, pp. 77-78.

5) *Ibid*, Appendix 'E'

negotiation with the British Trade Agent and local Tibetan and Chinese authorities with a view to protect Nepalese interest without antagonizing any country.

(iii) Thirdly a trusted government employee was thought necessary, who could constantly watch the Britishers' policy and activities at Gyantse and could report perfectly to the Home government.

(iv) As Gyantse was situated in enroute to Chumbi valley, (the newly opened trade route linking Tibet and India) Nepal assumed that the flow of the Tibetan trade would diverted from the recently introduced route. The Nepalese government therefore naturally alarmed as her assertive position in the Tibetan trade would receive injury if the same situation continued at Gyantse. With this consideration Chandra Shumshere fully realized that the traditional *Thakali* were unable to act in consistence with the Nepalese paramount motive.

(v) Chandra Shumshere thought it equally urgent to appoint a reasonable officer to appease the Britishers with a ultarior motive to gain a favour.

Aftermath the Lhasa convention, Chandra Shumshere, the Nepalese Maharaja, instructed Jeet Bahadur Khatry Chhetry, the Nepalese *Vakil* at Lhasa to obtain the permission of the Tibetan government to authorise Nepal to appoint Nepalese official at Gyantse as *Thakali*.[6] Accordingly, Jeet Bahadur approached the *Kasyal* (Tibetan Cabinet). The Tibetan government accepted the Nepalese proposal as an ad hoc arrangement. Chandra Shumshere at once ordered the *Ditha* of Nepalese *Vakils* office to take the charge of the *Thakali* at Gyantse.[7] Similarly, Nepal had also appointed her official as *Thakali* at Shigatse. The British Resident reported that "Two Nepalese official have been sent to take up the duties of *Thakali* at Shigatse and Gyantse".[8] The British Indian government thanked Chandra Shumshere for his prompt action in appointing a Nepali officer at Gyantse.[9]

As mentioned before, the Tibetan government agreed to appoint a Nepalese offical at Gyantse in an ad hoc basis and a *Ditha* of Nepalese legation was entrusted for the post of *Thakali*. Soon, the Tibetan government granted permanent approval for the Gyantse *Adda* and Chandra Shumshere appointed Lieutenant Shanker Das as the first *Thakali* to the Gyantse *Adda* in 1962 B.S. Poush 28 Roj 5 (January 1906) and the office was formally opened in 1963 Asar 11.[10] The

6) Chandra Shumshere to J. Manners-Smith, 4th of October 1905, Foreign Department Notes, External-B, November 1905, No. 120, National Archives of India, New Delhi.

7) *Ibid.*

8) J. Manners- Smith to Assistant Secretary of India, Foreign Department, 15th of June 1906, Foreign Department, Secret 'E', August 1906, Nos. 317-29, National Archives of India, New Delhi.

9) Under secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department to J. Manners-Smith, 17th of November 1905, Foreign Department Notes, External- B, November 1950, No. 121, National Archives of India, New Delhi.

10) Kamandari Kitap Khana, Records, (Pahad, Purba, Pachhim) 1962 B. S., p. 290, National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu.

Gyantse *Adda's Thakali* was staffed with a small number of personnel totalling six to seven persons. They were one *Mukhiya* and *Dobhase*, (interpreter), one *Hudda* and three sepoys.[11] Later on the number of *Dobhase* and sepoys were increased.[12] Sankar Das was renumurated Rs. 1200 annually (Rs. 800 salary and 400 allowance) while *Mukhiya*, *Dobhase*, *Hudda* and sepoy used to receive Rs. 300, 150, 150 and 120 respectively.[13] Unlike the *Vakils* of Lhasa, the annual salary and allowance of the Head of the Gyantse *Adda* was not inconsistent. The *Thakalis* like Sanker Das (1962 B. S.) and Lal Bahadur (1969 B. S.) used to receive 1200 (salary+allowance) and Kul Prasad (1975 B. S.) were given 1800 per annum. The *Thakali* Lok Bahadur Pande was sanctioned Rs. 3200 in the year 1995 B.S.[14] Besides, the *Thakali* used to receive two Kala Mohars as *Saalami* from the Nepalese traders arriving from Lhasa for commercial purpose.

The *Thakalis* were not appointed for a fixed tenure of office and varied one to another. The Nepalese government was free to appoint anybody and no Tibetan official approval was necessary. The Nepalese government had a tradition of appointing Leiutenant in the post of Thakali. In a short absence of the *Thakali* from his office, the *Mukhiya*, second in rank, used to officiate the *Thakali*.

Power and Functions

Immediately after receiving adhoc approval from the *Kasyal*, Chandra Shumshere issued a seventeen point instructions[15] to the Head of the Gyantse office, which in fact served guidelines to all the successive *Thakalis*. Besides these formal instructions on many occasions special orders were issued to the *Thakalis* by the Nepalese legation at Lhasa and Home government. The first point of the instruction was :

> You shall ordinarily reside at Gyantse and exercise the powers and authority that shall be vested in you by virtue of this "sanad" and others that may issued from time to time over such of the subjects of this Government as are and shall be residing at Gyantse engaged in trade or other vocations, as well as subjects of this Government as shall pass through Gyantse, and you shall always bear in mind that the manner in which you shall exercise such powers shall be in harmony and not inconsistent with the established laws of this country and the prevailing manners, customs, and usages and the provisions of the treaty existing between the Governments of Nepal and Tibet.[16]

On many instances there occured many differences between Nepal and Tibet regarding the customs, usages and existing treaty. The Tibetan authorities repeatedly attempted to impose duties on the goods of the Nepalese traders at Gyantse, specially in transit to

11) *Ibid.*
12) *Ibid*, 1995 B. S., p. 137.
13) Kamandari Kitap Khana Records, *op. cit.* f. n. 10.
14) Ibid., 1995 B. S., p. 137.
15) Major J. Manners-Smith to the secretary to the Government of India, 16th of October, 1905, Enclo, Pro. no. 120, *op. cit.* f. n. 6.
16) *Ibid*, Translation of a set of rules and directions for the guidance of the officer appoint for Gyantse.

India through Phari route. The two governments entered into an endless debate on the question but without any concrete results.[17] Nepal's *Sama Danda Niti* and *Veda* policy was not rewarded with success in this triffling issue and ultimately the Nepalese had to pay duties to their goods in route to India.[18]

The Gyantse office was also armed with judicial powers in the cases over all the Nepalese and Kasmiri traders residing at Gyantse. The *Thakali* was also authorised to administer justice, through a joint court in the cases where the Nepalese and Tibetans were involved.[19] The Leiutenant was, however, clearly instructed not to decide the cases where the Nepalese and British nationals were involved. Regarding this case he was instructed as :

> Instructions enabling you to deal with cases when Nepali and British subjects are concerned shall be issued to you separately. In the meantime should any such cases arise, you shall refer, setting forth the particulars of them in detail, to the headquarters of this Government. In such cases should the offence committed be such as to require the accused to be detained in custody, you shall in the case of the subjects of this Government keep them in your custody, and in the case of British subjects request the British officer there to do the same pending the receipt of orders from the head-quarters of the respective governments with respect to the final disposal of the cases. [20]

But the British Trade Agent of Gyantse attempted to interfere in the cases where Nepalese employees in the British agency and the domiciled Nepalese in India, and the Tibetans were involved. To cite a case–On Bhadra 6, 1966 B.S. (August 1909) a quarrel took place in Gyantse between two Nepalese Sherpa serving in the British agency and a Tibetan national. In accordance with the tradition the case was referred to the Nepal–Tibet joint court for decision.[21] The British official tried to interfere in the joint court on the ground that the Sherpas were under the service of their agency. The official was, however, prevented to interfere the court by both the Nepalese and the Tibetan officials, Later on, the British Trade agent asserted that the case should not be decided as he has already referred the issue to the Home government for instruction.[22] Thus the court was prevented to take up the case and to deliver justice. Similarly the trade agent claimed the right to be heard in the cases where one of the parties were domiciled Nepalese in the British territory. As the British assertion was contrary to the prevalent usages, the Nepalese *Thakali* of Gyantse referred the

17) Tirtha Prasad Mishra- "Political Relations between Nepal and Tibet", (1901-1929) Ph. D. Thesis, submitted to Patna University, 1986, pp. 288-300.

18) *Ibid.*

19) Translation of a set of rules..... *op. cit.*, f. n. 16.

20) *Ibid.*

21) Mukhiya Rama Nath's petition to the Nepalese Maharaja, 1966 B. S., Bhadra 11 Roj 5, Poka no. 206, Foreign Ministry Archives of Nepal.

22) *Ibid*, British Trade Agent to Mukhiya Rama Nath.

case to the Home government through the Nepalese legation at Lhasa.[23] The Nepalese Maharaja thereafter made a humble request to the British authorities reminding them to acknowledge the existing treaty, usages and tradition which Nepal had been enjoying in Tibet.[24] Chandra Shumshere also requested them to send timely intructions to the British Trade Agent at Gyantse about his dealings in such vital issues. Part of the letter is as follows:

> The introduction of a distinction between Nepalese born in British territory and other Nepalese and the transference of jurisdiction over the former would go to curtail the right so long enjoyed by Nepal without let or hinderance .. . We are particularly solitious that no thing should occur which may lead the Tibetan government to think that those right can be easily flouted or interfered with and thus encourage them to move on in that direction .. ... on the other hand I am inclined to think it would introduce confusion and delay proceedings by rising of controversy about the jurisdiction. The present usage which is a simple one has been working quite smooth for ever such a very long time and a change is not desirable when there is hardly any advantage.'' [25]

It can be assumed that the Nepalese protest bore fruitful result as such cases were not resurfaced this time onwards.

The Nepalese agent at Gyantse was strictly warned not to interfere with or exercise judicial function over cases in which both parties were exclusively the Tibetans.[26] But the Tibetan authorities lodged complains, against the Nepalese officials' unnecessary interference, in the judicial cases where only the Tibetans were involved. On the other hand the Nepalese officials reported that in cases where only the Nepalese were involved, were arbitarily decided by the Tibetans even without bothering to consult local *Thakali*. Geru Lal, a Marwari of India, charged a Nepalese and a Tibetan with theft and the Chinese officials interfered in the trial though they had no jurisdiction. So was the case in the issue of captain Kennedy's servant.[27] Thus the growing power of China and British India in Tibet placed Nepal in a critical position and the Nepalese traditional rights were curtailed in due course. In such a situation the *Thakali* of Gyantse encountered many difficulties to safeguard the Nepalese interests.

The Gyantse *Thakali* was not entitled to inflict capital punishment to any Nepalese citizen. In such cases he was supposed to submit his judgement to the Home government through the Nepalese representative at Lhasa and had to act according to given order.[28]

It was the primary duty of the *Thakali* to

23) *Ibid.*
24) Chandra Shumshere to Bayley, 17th of September 1916, Records of the correspondence between the Nepalese Maharaja and the British Residents in the court of Nepal, Register No. 3, Foreign Ministry Archives of Nepal.
25) *Ibid.*
26) Translation of a set, *op. cit.*, f. n. 16.
27) Mishra, *op. cit.*, f. n. 17, p. 159.
28) Translation of a set.....*op. cit.*, f. n. 16.

preserve and promote the Nepalese commercial interest and to look after the security of the Nepalese merchants. The *Thakali* was expected to take all action for the prompt recovery and restoration of Nepalese traders' property in case of plunder and loot.[29] But on many occasions the *Thakali* failed to protect the Nepalese traders from the Tibetan atrocities, plunder and loot. The property of a Nepalese merchant was looted by the Tibetans and despite the sincere efforts of the *Thakali* the looted goods were failed to be restored.[30] So much so that at a sepoy working at the Gyantse *Adda* was brutally murdered by a Tibetan national. The Nepalese repeated attempts of both *Vakil* and *Th·kali* was ignored by the Tibetans.[30a] Finally this throny issue also became responsible for the origin of the misunderstanding between the two uneasy partners which flared up during 1928-30. This type of unwanted practices were frequently recorded up to 1930s. Likewise the Tibetan authorities charged the Nepalese traders with ignoring the traditional belief and religions sentiments of the local people. They also protested the *Thakali's* constant support to the Nepalese for such undertakings. It is true that the Nepalese with the weapon of extra-territoriality did not hesitate to disregard the law of the land.[31] In the long run such undesirable actions by both the Nepalese and Tibetans stepped up animosities paving the way for an adverse impact in the Nepalese mercantile activities.

The Gyantse Head was instructed to submit a report to the government, through the Nepalese *Vakil* at Lhasa, on murder, forcible seizures, plunder and loot affecting the security of the life and property of the Nepalese subjects.[32] The agent also expected to maintain friendly relations with all the governments with whom he may have business relations.[33] Accordingly all the *Thakalis* cultivated friendship with the British Trade agent and tried to keep Chinese officials in good humour. But the Nepalese government never tolerated the intimate relations of the Nepalese officials with the foreign dignitories specially the British personnels. So the Gyantse *Adda* officials' were strictly forbidden to accept any kind of gifts from the foreign diplomats and agents. It will desirable here to produce a case which would help to understand the Nepalese government's attitude towards her employees at Gyantse. The British Trade agent had once presented a vinacular to *Mukhyia* Rama Nath Upadhyaya and the latter reported the matter to the Home government. The Nepalese Maharaja reprimanded the *Mukhiya* for accepting the gift without seeking his approval.[33b] The incident clearly divulged that the Ranas did not prefer close contacts between the Nepalese officials and the English officer with a ultarior

29) *Ibid*,
30) Mishra, *op. cit.*, f. n. 17, p. 159.
30a) Rahul Sankrittiyan- *Tibet Me Sawa Baras* (Delhi : 1990 B. S.) p. 251.
31) Charles Bell- *Tibet : Past and Present*, Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1924, p. 236.
32) Translation of a set.. ... *op. cit.* f. n. 16.
33) *Ibid.*
33b) Sri Teen Maharaja to Rama Nath Upadhyaya, 1969 B. S., Chaitra 15 Roj 3, Poka no. 64, Foreign Ministry Archives of Nepal.

motive of preventing British influence over the Nepalese employees.

The *Thakalis* of Gyantse had performed and discharged most commendable works to strengthen the security measures for the the safety of the Nepalese traders during the emergency period. During the Sino-Tibetan turmoil (1910-1912), Gyantse, like the other parts of Tibet, had been turned into a fierce battle field challenging seriously the security of Nepalese traders. In this crisis the Nepalese *Thakali* Lal Bahadur Basnet took much precaution and successfully pleaded the genuine case of the Nepalese traders before both the Tibetan and Chinese official.[34] Due to such ample efforts the Nepalese traders, unlike the other part of the Kingdom, were less suffered.

Another *Thakali* Loka Bahadur Pande paid much attention to maintain peace and tranquility among the Nepalese traders and tried to protect the Nepalese community from any adversaries when a war seemed imminent in 1928-30.[35] During this hour of crisis the passages to Nepal were blockaded by the Tibetans and thus the Nepalese had to stay at Gyantse at the state of uncertainty and agony. At this critical juncture the *Thakali* accumulated food grains enough for six months with a view to provide all the Nepalese stationed at Gyantse.[36] Though the trouble did not prolong the precautionary measure which the *Thakali* took proved his capability to be a shrewed strategist.

Apart from the seventeen point goverment instructions, the *Thakali* was expected to perform other informal duties which were considered important to the Nepalese legation at Lhasa and the Nepal Durbar. The *Thakali* was to report the unusual happenings and *arcana imperii* to the *Vakil* at Lhasa. With these considerations, the Gyantse *Adda* used to despatch about the internal political situation of Gyantse, British Trade Agent's relation with the Tibetan and the Chinese officials. Once Chandra Prasad Shrestha, an official at Gyantse *Adda*, reported the massive war preparation of Tibetans, such as recall of the Tibetan troops stationed at Gyantse, recruitment of troops, collection of food provisions etc., during the Tibeto-Nepal conflicl in 1928-30.[37]

The *Thakali* of Gyantse had once offered mediation in the dispute between the Tibetans and the celestials. Lal Bahadur Basnet, the *Thakali* of Gyantse, actively mediated during the Sino-Tibetan conflict when the second round peace negotiation between the two conflicting parties was initiated at Gyantse.[38] It was Lal Bahadur, later on appointed Nepalese *Vakil* at Lhasa, who finally brought both Tibet and China in a negotiating table and restored peace in the land of the Lamas.[39]

The Gyantse *Thakali* was also entrusted to transmit the communication between Nepal and Lhasa as the mail used to move through the British trade agency at Gyantse.

34) For detail see, Mishra, *op. cit.*, f. n. 17, pp. 134-96; Uprety, *op. cit.*, f. n. 4, pp. 127-43.
35) Petition of Loka Bahadur to Nepalese Maharaja, 1986 B. S. Kartik 22, Unnumbered Poka, Foreign Ministry Archives of Nepal.
36) *Ibid.*
37) Chandra Prasad's petition to Nepalese Maharaja 1986 Kartik 4, *op. cit.* f. n. 35.
38) Mishra, *op. cit.*, f. n. 17, pp. 155—89; Uprety, *op. cit.*, f. n. 4, pp. 133-43.
39) *Ibid.*

In fact up to 1920s, the Gyantse *Thakali* was the sole medium of communications among the British Trade Agent, local Tibetan and Chinese officials. It was the policy of almost all *Thakali* to solve the misunderstanding between the local Tibetans authorities and British Trade Agent without loosing Nepalese vital interest. But after 1930, the Tibetans become too intimate with the British and the *Thakali* could no more became an intermediary in their transactions.

The Gyantse *Adda* was second in rank among the Nepalese offices established throughout Tibet. It was the customary rule that the head of Gyantse *Adda* was to officiate the Nepalese *Vakil* at Lhasa and many *Thakalis* were promoted to the *Vakils* after their tenure of office from Gyantse. Lal Bahadur and Rana Gambhir Singh were later on promoted in the post of Nepalese *Vakils* at Lhasa. [40]

Concluding Remarks

The Gyantse *Adda* was an important Nepalese office established in the Tibetan Kingdom. The Nepalese Maharaja, Chandra Shumsher, changed the status of the post of *Thakali* with a variety of objectives. Prior to this amendment, the *Thakalis*, who were the merchants themselves, were merely expected to look after the welfare of the Nepali trading community stationed in that place and in preserving Nepal government's commercial interests. But in the innovative system the *Thakalis* were well-equipped with judicial and other powers with a sole objective of maintaining Nepal's historic dominant position in that place. The emergence of British in the Tibetan plateau and the establishment of a British Trade Agency at Gyantse, alerted Nepal and placed the Gyantse *Adda* under a Lieutenant. But the varied objectives of Nepal were not completely materialized due to the growing intimacy between the British and Tibetans. Nepalese taiditional rights were rapidly curtailed and the usages and treaty rights produced endless debate and even the British trade agent questioned and attempted to away with the Nepalese privileges. In this changed context, it was beyond the capacity of the *Thakali* to preserve Nepalese trade interest at Gyantse. However, the Gyantse *Adda* served a useful purpose for the welfare of the local Nepalese traders by the Sino-Nepal Treaty relating to Tibet in 1956.

40) Tri Ratna Manandhar, *Some Aspects of Rana Rule in Nepal*, Kathmandu : Purna Devi Manandhar, pp. 5-8.

An Ethno-Archaeological Investigation into Irrigation Agriculture and Water Systems in Mid-Western Nepal

(Continued)

-Thomas M. C. Pinhorn

Chapter 5 . Ancient Water-conduits and Water Tanks

Introduction

It is unfortunate that due to the Nepali government's restrictions I had no chance to survey the waterconduits and water tanks of the region. My knowledge of them comes from the very brief mention given by Tucci and Sharma and from two all too restricted photographs. What follows is the small amount of information I have been able to glean from these source. I have summarised, adding what interpretation I can.

Stupas over Waterconduits

The local term for a waterconduit is a mugraha (Sharma, 1972, 11). Altogether two are known in the region, see Fig. 1, nos. 9 and 10. The waterconduits at Sampubada and Dasaundhibada which are along a valley north-east of Jumla, both have stupas numbering five and two respectively. Interestingly there is a large group of stone pillars associated with the monuments. Sharma is unable to define the function here.

From the photograph (Sharma, 1972, plate VII) of Dasaundhibada, the waterconduit built of cut stone is only a few meters long, I estimate the width to be about 1.5m and the channel appears to zig-zag downwards. It connects to an elaborate waterpoint, which part of is observed by a cow. However it can be seen that it is of a similar type to the one at Sija. A large top mantle, bird motifs (though the water alights below them) placed straddling a central pillar reflect the arrangement at Sija. The waterpoint lacks the tier layering as at Sija, the construction of the back wall being straight. The waterpoint clearly shows a central Buddha between the two bird motifs. The first panel to the right of the bird motif shows two figures, perhaps in a kneeling position. The panels show other reliefs, but

from the photograph they are impossible to make out.

Interestingly the bench on the right hand side of the waterpoint clearly shows a bench topped with a paving slab decorated around the edge with amaluka-quions like at Dailekh.

The waterconduit at Sampubada I have no more information on than above. Evidently there are less stupas and I would be surprised not to find a similar arrangement for the waterconduit at this site.

Interpretation

The sites are very important and show a clear association between Buddhist worship (pujaa) and the waterconduits/waterpoints in question. The situation of the stupas above the waterpoint at Dasaudhibada would have been convenient for worship. There may be a meditation involved in siting the stupas with a waterconduit, i. e. a connection with Buddha and the life-giving water.

The evidence that in the Malla period (for these monuments certainly come within the period) they had the technology to construct stone water channels is important, be it only over a short distance. Because Buddhist stupas are present the monument may come earlier rather than later in the Malla period.

Temples over waterconduits

There are two temples over waterconduits in the region. One at Rara or Raya, see Fig. 1. no. 11 and the other at Ukhadi, see Fig. 2, no. 12. Again, I have little information to go on. There is no photograph of Raya and the photograph of Ukhadi (Sharma, 1972) only shows the elaborate temples. Sharma mention that the temple at Raya is particularly small (Sharma, 1972, 19) and that in both cases they were built as crowning finials over elaborately made waterconduits. The suggestion that they are elaborate leads me to believe that they may be similar to the Sampubada and Disaundhibada. When Sharma uses the word elaborate I suspect he may be referring to a waterpoint connected with the waterconduit.

Interpretation

Again this is important evidence relating to the Malla organisation of water. In these cases Hindu/local deities are shown in association with the waterpoints. In the case of Ukhadi we actually have a firm date for the temples and waterconduits, that of Saku 1408 (=1486 A D). We know historically (Sharma, 1972) that at this time the Malla kingdom had divided into small principalities known as Baisi, and in 1450 AD,at the kingdom of Semja (Sharma, 1972, 19) Vatsaraja and Virokasahi in 1498 AD. I think it is likely that the waterconduit at Ukhadi and possibly Raya were built under the rule of Vatsaraja or Virokasahi or perhaps as yet an unknown ruler between them.

Watertanks

Stupas on Watertanks

The local name given to a watertank is vapi. There are two watertanks recorded in the region. One at Dullu Patharnauli, Fig. 1, no. 13, discovered by Tucci in his 1954 survey of the area. The other one is at Kuchi, see Fig. 1, no. 14. The Dullu Patharnauli is an imposing size being 5.82m long and 3.51m high, the building is square. The roof carries five finials of Buddhist chaityas and is low and is dressed in similar fashion to temples and is made of several receding steps towards the summit. There is a plain square headed entrance on the east side spanned by a flat and thick beam carrying an inscription of Devanvarma dated Suka 1276 (=1354 AD) in

the reign of Prithvimalla, the inscription is held in position by two large piers. Along the upper part of the structure a plain cornice runs all around.

The watertank at Kichu is very similar to that at Dullu with the exception that only one Buddhist chaitya is present. The structure is evidently a little smaller.

Interpretation

The above evidence demonstrates that the Mallas had the technology to construct watertanks. The Kuchi watertank lies within the dry zone, which may give some clue why there was need to store water. However, if the tanks are just purely for storing water in the dry season, this does not explain the situation of the watertank at Dullu since the area does not experience water shortage. Another explanation for the siting of the watertank at Dullu may be because of the Royal residence there, the water being reserved for court use only.

Chapter 6 : Conclusions

Looking at the pattern of waterpoints in the region, see Fig. 1, we can see that field survey revealed a concentration around Jumla. This pattern is perhaps not surprising, since I concentrated my survey around Jumla. I think it is likely that similar surveys around Malla centres such as Sija and Dullu would reveal similar patterns. What is perhaps surprising is the relative lack of major waterpoints along the "Royal Road", between Dullu and Jumla, a more intensive survey of the area is necessary to confirm this though.

Archaeological evidence demonstrates that stone waterpoints were constructed in the mid-western region in the Malla period. These early waterpoints were large and had a regular layout with many elaborate stone carvings. There is an association between bird/crocodile motifs on the waterpoints, no doubt ornamental/ritual. There then follows a period of change in the region, when the Malla Empire breaks up and is replaced by a series of small states known as the Baisi period. It is likely that within this period or possibly the early borkha period new stone waterpoints were constructed, These waterpoints reused existing carved stone. These stone are likely to come from dismantled buildings, waterpoints and temples in the region. These waterpoints are smaller in nature than the earlier ones, there is a continuity in the use of bird/crocodile motifs. Lastly I suggest probably in the Gorkha period when the region is once again under central organisation, larger waterpoints were built, this time using a technique of laid paving slab on top of irregular boulders. Examples of this type can be seen in widely differing areas such as Dailekh and Tatopani. These last stone waterpoints do not contain any bird/crocodile motifs unlike the ones in the Kathmandu valley, secondary use of material is in evidence though. The idea of using paving slabs has its origin in some early Malla waterpoints whose use of it was limited. Modern Waterpoints of the region are built in concrete and are supplied by plastic pipes. The function of the older stone waterpoints today does not differ from the modern ones, supplying water for family needs as well as for the porters.

Archaeological evidence demonstrates that waterconduits and watertanks both in the Malla and early Baisi periods were constructed. These early structures were connected with religious monuments such as Stupas and temples. Stone waterconduits function was to supply waterpoints, the watertanks are connected with lack of water in the dry season, in the dry zone of north-western Nepal and a royal residence at Dullu. Stone coated

tanks are not constructed today in the region, but earthen watertanks may be still found in the Jumla irrigation agriculture system where the idea is preserved.

Pottery evidence points towards the canals in the Jumla area being ancient in construction. Further evidence from the stone waterconduits and indirect evidence from the watermill wheel near Dailekh show that in the Malla and early Baisi periods there was the technology in the region to construct the canals. Folklore tradition indicates that the earthern canals of Jumla were built by the Mallas. Malaybrani is remembered as a great hero in many legends. He was a King of Jumla. In a saying prevalent in Dahan in Kalikof dara, the King is credited with building the monastery at Khojarnath with hard teaks from Surkhet. Could it be that this King also built the Jumla canals ? Other strong supporting evidence shows that a canal 17 km in length runs along the Siju Kola to Siju, the old Malla summer capital, this canal was constructed in the same fashion as the Jumla canals. So we have evidence of a large canal system connecting two important Malla centres. All of the above evidence leads one to believe that the canals were constructed in the Malla period.

There would appear good cultural continuity in the region. Continuity in irrigation, agriculture techniques and systems seems likely me from the Malla period to the present day for a number of reasons. The climate has not significantly changed. The woods used in the tools are taken from locally available sources such as blue pine, that would have been available in the Malla and preceding periods, although today it is under great pressure due to higher and higher cultivation of the slopes. The metals have been traditionally traded from India and today are still fashioned by local blacksmiths. The tools are not elaborate in construction and are suited to perform the basic functions necessary to till the soil.

There are interesting differences in the two systems I worked on. The Salkot system is clearly much later in origin and more sophisticated compared with the Jumla system, for example, waterights in the Salkot system were established through the ownership of shares, whereas in the Jumla system it was done by landholding. It is also interesting to note that though a committee system had been set up in Jumla, disputes which the committee were supposed to handle were in fact settled outside the committee, physically. The opposite occurred in the Salkot area, fines being levied there against offenders.

Other notable differences occur in the two systems in system operation. In the Salkot area saachos were much in evidence, whereas at Jumla tanks and a rotation system was used. It seems likely from the above evidence that the Jumla system is the more traditional in the region. Improvements in canal construction have certainly occurred. The use of wood to line canals allows up to 40% improved efficiency in carring water. In Salkot the canals are lined on the outside with the boulder stones. The Jumla canals are however constructed of earth, this may be due to the infrequent breaks in the canals helped by the mild monsoon.

All the food stuffs with the exception of luxuries such as sugar, and tea, are produced locally. We know the seeds are local in origin and from evidence from the Dailekh watermill wheel foodstuffs must have been ground in the region in the late Malla, early

Baisi periods. Potatoes are certainly a newcomer to the area and resistence to grow and irrigate them is still strong. The crops the canals irrigated could well have been a rice similar to that of red rice grown in the region today. The properties of the rice are such that it only grows in this region, having adapted itself to the high altitude. I think, though, cultivation on the very high slopes of 9,000 ft are likely to have come within the last century, with increasing population pressure in the area.

The continuity for trading herbs (as a supplement to the irrigation agriculture) in the Jumla area is very good. I think this trade is likely to have been based on the herbs I recorded in my survey. The market in the past may well have been larger, since in recent times the economy of the area has relied heavily on government food aid.

I look forward very much to returning to the region and carrying out further research work. The region is certainly not easily accessible. but if the true nature and extent of the Malla Empire is to be discovered the difficulties and discomfforts must be borne.

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Glossary

Amalaka-quoins	-A Particular style of stone decoration common on monuments of the Karnali Basin.
Baisi	-The twenty-two kingdoms. A period in Nepali history from the late 1300s to the late 1700s.
Beri	-Sloping land.
Bigha	-Term for a local measurement of paddy land.
Brahmins	-High caste group common in Jumla area.
Dullu	-Farmer winter capital of the Mallas.
Gorkha	-Period occurring after the Baisi period upto 1840s.
Gum	-Former capital of Mugu.
Khet	-Terraced land, usually for paddy.

Latikoili -Temple near Surkhet.

M alla -Period in Nepali history of Mid-Western region - from 1100s to later 1300s. Common ruling family dynasty that gives its name to the period.

Mugraha -Term in Nepali for a water-conduit.

Mugu -Region to the north of Jumla which borders modern-day Tibet.

Pujaa -Worship associated with either Buddhism or Hinduism.

Panchayat -Local village council.

'Petal' -Nickname used to describe enlarged type of Amalaka-quoins decoration.

Rana -Period occurring after Gorkha period from 1840-1950. Rana is the name of the ruling family dynasty.

Saacho -A horizontal weir made from a log with two or more notches of equal depth.

Saga -Local term used for plant with no specific name. It means 'green'.

Terai -The flat land of Nepal which has a tropical climate.

Tila -A tributary of the river Karnali that runs from Jumla.

Thakuris -Caste below the Brahmins.

Vapi -Local term for a watertank.

(The End)

Nepal

(Continued)

XXI. Inscription of Nangsal

Nangsal is a small locality due East of Kathmandu (see 11, 397). The stela that bears this inscription rises against a ridge that covers so they say the ruins of the temple of Narayana. It is very dilapidated and I have long despaired of deciphering it. The 52 lines that I have transcribed here cover a height of 0m, 85; but there still exist traces of 15 lines on the top and the text is also lengthened by a certain number of lines at the foot. The introductory and conclusive formularies have disappeared. The width of the stela is 0m, 35. The average height of the letters above the line is 0m, 005, The space between the lines is 0m, 01.

Compared with the inscriptions of Amcuvarman and Jisnugupta, the writing shows important changes. The general trend leans towards cursive writing; the sketch simplifies and shortens itself. P. ex. the ka joins its two transversal strokes by a curve and forms the loop that becomes its characteristic in devanagari. The dha reduces itself to an arc of a circle fixed on the left of the stem . The la contracts itself and stretches its last dash to the left to bring it back towards the stem. The ya has definitively lost its three uprights and only differentiates from the pa by the oval as in devanagari. All these innovation are found again in the inscription of Jayadeva in Pacupati (Bh. 15) dated samvat 153 and are embodied in the inscriptions dated samvat 143 (B. 13) and 145 (Bh. 14). On the other hand, they are all manifested in India proper, with the inscription of Adityasena. We know that Civadeva the father and predecessor of Jayadeva had espoused the grand daughter of Adityasena. It is permissible to believe that the political relations opened by this alliance have exercised their influence on the orthography of the Nepalese chancellery.

The orthographical system of the inscription presents a striking peculiarity in the treatment of the silent after 'r'; the Licchavis before Amcuvarman redoudle regularly in this case the silent. Amcuvarman does away altogether with the redoubling and the practice is maintained, vigorously so it appears up till the inscription of the year 145. With the inscription of Jayadeva the redoubling re-appears but without absolute

vigour. He writes 'varnnita, nirvvibandha, 1. 1; cakra vartti, 3 sarvvabhauma, 4, 16; patir jjatah, 8; dharmma, 9; kartta 11; hartta bhartta varmma, 12; vargga, 13: kurvvan, 16; kuryat, 32; pujartham, 29; sadbhir mukhaih, 27; nirvrtim, 29.

The inscription of Nangsal also hesitates between the two system. It redoubles with persistence in the words purvva and sarvva that are frequently met in it and does away with the redoubling with the same persistence in the word marga that appears several times. It writes on the one hand 'karya', 14; artha, 16, 23; dharma, 27:- and on the other nirnnetr, 11; karttavya, 24.

These various indications for want of a precise date, then classify the inscription towards the reign of Jayadeva a little after the stela of Civadeva neighbouring it. Besides the stanza addressed to future kings (1. 27-28) is clearly on ordinary alteration of the stanza inserted at the end of the inscription of samvat 145, that has for dutaka "the heir-apparent Vijayadeva".

The document expresses a series of privileges conferred to the venerable samgha etc. (1-23); then come the threats and ordinary recommendations 23, 28; then breaking with the consecrated order, the fixing of limits to the privileged land. The details of this settling of boundaries already attest that over-scrupulous precision of the Nepalese land-surveyors that provoked even as late as the XIXth century the admiration of Hodgson. The discrepancies in the text do not allow the following of the capricious outline of the boundaries step by step; the general course can be easily followed from N. E. to N. W; namely over half the course. On this circuit, the limit meets or cuts across a monastery (Ajika vihara), a temple (valasikkidevakula) a large estate several villages and hamlets a large road (mahapatha) a road for vehicles (maharathya), several lanes (murga). It is a further testimony of the high degree of prosperity and of civilization which Nepal had attained. It is scarcely possible being given the state of the text, to give a corrected translation of the inscription. I believe it preferable to analyze it by translating the passages most preserved. The privileges conceded in the first portion consist essentially in the revenues supplied so it appears by special taxes. The total is estimated sometimes in panas (20. p. 1.8; 100p 1.9; 100 p. 15; 400 p. 1.8). Sometimes in panapuranas (1.114 pp. 1, 7; 10 pp, 1.12.6; pp- divipana, 1, 16 and 1.19; 3 pp., 1.17; 80 pp, 1.18 and 19; 5 pp 1,20; 1000pp., 1, 21). The pana and the purana are well known; the pana is the monetary unit of copper; the purana that of silver; Both these units are mentioned in our inscriptions especially in the inscription of Amcuvarman samvat 30. But the expression panapurana is altogether unknown to me. The compound is not formed by juxtaposition in the meaning of pana purana since there are values superior to 16, as much as 1000 panapuranas. 1000 panas at 16 panas to the purana, would give 62 puranas. Perhaps it is meant to clearly specify the value of the purana, the purana of 16 panas worth and to prevent misleadings with the designation of purana applied to ancient coins, especially to the punch-coins oblong-shaped. The wording of line 11; as panatrayena puranatrayanm stated as a juridical decision (iti nirnnetrvyavaharatas) was perhaps of a kind to procure the elements of solution; but the necessary context is missing.

The especial taxes established in favour

of the beneficiaries of the charts are collected on the occasion of various circumstances which is always difficult to define even when the text can be deciphered with a fair amount of facility; p. ex in line 8, the 20 panas attributed to the witnesses (saksin) who are vetropasthita at the time of the pradraya ghattana; then the case of agreement (sampratipatti) is foreseen. L. 11 sqq., it is well a matter of judicial affairs and of proportion to establish 'the pana to the purana' as we say 'the franc to the mark'. The silver or the object which causes the litigation must be remitted to the competent authority, otherwise the affair must be removed to the royal tribunal. The death of a pregnant woman gives rise to payment of 100 panas; a suicide also compels the intervention of justice that always demands payment for its trouble. The taxes that follow appear to be connected with the processions of chariots which hold such an important place in the religious life of Nepal. The expression prsada ratha "chariot with a platform" would suit admirably those construction erected on wheels of which plate 11 of the first volume shows an excellent specimen. A payment of panapurana is established for 'the painting of the chariot'; thus it is that I find it necessary to translate the word citrana which is omitted in dictionaries. Another payment of an equal sum for the rathottolana which may be the erection of the timber work of the chariot and for the prasadasamskara "the installation of the highest platform" 6 panpurana with 1 double pana (dvipana) for the celakara. He who made the clothings probably of the dolls installed on the chariot. Two of these payments one of 80 panapurana (1–18) the other of 100 (1020) are yearly (prativarsam).

The ordinary personage ordinarily designated on the occasion of these taxes is the dauvarika literally 'the man of the gate' (1. 3. 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20). In reality it concerns several dauvarikas, since they are distinguished by titles attached to their employments. Sri paradauvarika (17) Vetradauvarika (18) Manadanvarika (20). In line 3 which is mutilated the mention of the dauvarika is immediately followed by the expression of yathacastranugata acting in agreement with the castras which seems well to mark the administrative character of this official. It is him who must be advised (avedaniya, 1.4 avedya, 1, 16) in case of irregularity or accident and it is by his intermediary that the case is removed, should there be cause for it, before the supreme jurisdiction (crimatpadiyattarasana – karane yathamasam repaniyah, 1.14 15). In case of suicide he receives a report aiming at the purification of the dead person (mrtacodhana; perhaps the investigation of the dead person) and must proceed there forthwith on the scene; 6 panapurana with 1 double pana are given to him for his trouble. It is him again who collects the various taxes on the chariot of procession.

The dauvarika is not an unknown official. The panca tantra (111, 50 ed. Bombay following the verse 69) ranks him with the elite of the officers of the crown the tirthas immediately following the minister (mantrin) of the chaplain (purohita), of the general-in-chief (camupati) and of the heir apparent (yuvaraja). He appears on the same rank and after the same personages in a text of Niticastra cited by Nilakantha on the Maha-Bharata 11, 168, and also in the commentary on verse 11, 100, 36 of the Ramayana (Bombay ed). This classification

reappears this time with the appearance of a real and official datum in the formulary of charts of Rajaraja 1 the eastern Calukya, dated in 1053 J. C. (Nandamapundi grant, 1.67) mantripurohita-senapatiyuvaraja-dauvarika pradhana smakasam ittham ajnapayeti. The dauvarika is also named in the Mahavyutapatti 186 No 68, in the course of a long and curious list of royal officers side by side and following the dvarapala. The function of the dauvarika in court is clearly indicated in Cakuntala; act 11. It is him who answers to the kings call protesting; Stop someone he who announces and who introduces the general, then the two new ascetics to the king. It must be noted that he does not speak Sanscrit as the bufoon and Raghavabhatta observes regarding it; the subordinate personages speaks Pracrit" (nicesu prakrtem bhavet ity ukter dauvarikasya prakrtam pathyam). The post was then worth a post of trust but it was not filled by a noblemen. The titulary was nevertheless fairly high sounding; rajadauvarika in the services not of the king himself, but of his favourite brother, founds a temple of Visnu and establishes thither a grammarian of renown for vyakhyatar (Raja-tarangini V. 28).

One could be tempted to attribute here to the dauvarika another work quite different. The Rajatarangini often mentions "the chief (adhipa, icvar and other synonyms) of the gate (dvara) and M. Stein has established by a bright discussion (note on V 214) that it is not a question of a great chamberlain", as was translated before him but that it concerned the officer entrusted with guarding the passes that lead into Cashmere. The geographical conditions being analogous, in Nepal the dauvarika would be able to exercise a work of the same kind. But the inscription of Amcuvarman, year 30 seems well to exclude this interpretation. Among the numerous liberalities which it institutes in favour of the people of the palace it attributes a sum of 1 purana 4 panas to each one of the gates (dvara) western gate (paccimadvara), gate of Managrha (Managrhadvara), central gate (madhyamadvara), northern gate (uttaradvara) southern gate (daksinadvara) and probably the eastern gate (pracinadvara) in short the great gate (paratoli). Among the dauvarikas of the inscription of Nangsal figures the Mana dauvarika which appears difficult to separate from the Managrhadvara mentioned by Amcuvarman. It is not improbable that the official appointed to each one of these gates could have had in his jurisdiction the adjoining district. The inscription of Nangsal names the district of the East (cripurvvdhikarana, 1.2) and the inscription of Amcuvarman year 39, names the district of the west (paccimadhikarana, 1.5). After the texts granted to the dauvarikas the charts mention another privilege. A certain number of villages (grama), some designated by indigenous names and formed undoubtedly spontaneously others grouped around the temples the

Footnote to pages 151 and 152, 'Nepal', Vol. III by S. Levi.

1. The role of the dauvarika in the Jataka (Richard Fick, Die Sociale Gliederung in Nordostlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zoeit..... Kiel, 1897 p. 101 sq) is fairly modest; humble. He expels with a stick the pariahs who had entered the palace and is boxed himself by the king when he passes before him. He guards the gate of the town, which he is obliged to close at night and informs the strangers when they enter the town.

Manecvara the Sambapura already mentioned in the inscription of Amcuvarman, year 32 (1, 12 and 13) are promoted to the rank of dranga. The word dranga is wanting in the Amarokoca: Hemacandra gives it (971) among the synonyms of nagari town; but Vacaspati (cited by the scholiast on this verse, ed. Bohtlingh) ranks the dranga below the karvata and above the pattana... Stein (on the Rajatarangini, 11, 291) establishes that in the Cashmerian chronicle as least dranga designates a 'guard-house erected near the mountain passes to prevent access into the valley and to collect customs duties, and he cites a commentator to the Makhakoca who explains dranga by raksasthana.The inscriptions frequently mention in the list of officials to whom the king addresses the drangika 'chiefs of military posts'. In any case the promotion of a 'grama' to the rank of 'dranga' is a royal favour (prasadikrtam, 1.22).

The chart thus concludes the list of grants (1.22–28) such are the various favours conferred to the Buddhistic and other communities. Knowing what it is about the competent officials entrusted with the above stated precepts must not under the plea of exercising their functions, even attempt in thought to violate these conceded privileges. Let this be understood... if they act otherwise, I shall let fall on the culprit the whole weight of my sceptre. And the kings to come, pre-eminently protectors of the privileges conferred by their predecessor if they wish to safeguard the happiness of their subjects they must also not allow any transgression. And it is said in connection with the duty to protect the grants :

"The princes whose conduct can be compared to the purity of the rays of the star of frigid splendour who protect their subjects as it is lawful and who maintain the legal institutions founded by the ancient sovereigns, these princes, after having enjoyed royal sway illuminated by the crowd of vanquished enemies live firmly in the blessedness of heaven as much honored and as powerful as Cakra."

Text.

1 . .....nasa.....'nandana' panapurana ..... kamavyaka...,...

2..... lakonssya cripurvvadhikarana .....

3..... 'parodanavarikenapi yathacastranugata.....

(etc. see pages 154, 155, 156, 157) 'Nepal', Volume III by S. Levi, Note on the two plates added to the first volume.

The two plates I have shown at the end of the first volume : 'The Procession of Matsyendra Natha' and 'The Sacred Legend of Nepal' reproduce two of the pieces of the collection of B. H. Hodgson in the library of the Institute of France. This collection mentioned by a memorandum of Barthelemy Saint-Milaire in the (newspaper) journal of the learned in 1863, has been carefully studied and catalogued by M. Foncher (Memorials presented by various savants to the Academy of Inscriptions and Polite-Literature,1st series, tome XI, 1st part 1897). The sacred legend bears the No. 5 Nep init. It is a large roll of cloth of about 1m, 85in. height by 2m, 15in. width sectioned, in six strips of about 0m, 25in. height the white spaces between these strips are filled with numbered inscriptions and correseponding at first as in the pictures of Epinal to the scenes represented above them beginning from the space in the middle

sometimes to those above sometimes to those below; numbers serve us as guides besides to that effect. Let us observe again, beginning from the second band, inscriptions on the very scenes or in the margin; they are all in Sanscrit strictly mixed or tinged with Nevari. The scenes that are unfolded are painted in bright colours and well preserved, save on the left edge of the painting (Foncher).

Mr. Foncher has given a summary list of the scenes represented; its numbers as one can ascertain do not agree with those of mine. He has faithfully followed the original in his disorder; I have thought it pregerable to establish a continuous series. For the description of the scenes, I had at my disposal, apart from the memoranda traced on the bands two wordings expounded-composed by Pundits on the request of Hodgson, one of them written by an unlikely Sanscrit, stranger to the most elementary rules of grammar; the other in Hindustani almost identical to the notes on the scenes. They are both closely related without however copying each other. The wording in Hindustani is strictly divided in portions corresponding to the numbered strips of the painting; the Sanscrit indicates the divisions only accidentally; but as the account in it is in general more developed, I have taken it for base, by completing it or by elucidating it, as occasion offers, with Hindustani.

The painting as the two attached accounts expressly indicate is a continuous illustration of the Svayambhupurana, or more correctly of the Svayambhuva purana as is expressly shown by the title: M. Foncher had well understood that this painting could throw some light on the question of the various recensions of the Purana. The painter has in fact based his illustration on the Sanscrit recension still unpublished and the worth of which I have mentioned (1, 208 and 212, notes). He has for instance developed with complaisance the adventure of kotikarna (Nos. 75–80) which the Svayambhuva relates in connection with the cintamani tirtha and which is altogether wanting in the Vrhat-Svayambhu-p of the 'Bibliotheca Indica'. The work is indisputably recent and has undoubtedly been executed for Hodgson during his sojourn in Nepal; but it is probable that it reproduces a known model and obviously more ancient; temples and monasteries possess scenes of this king which often recall their foundation and the miracle which promoted it; these scenes are hung outside on certain feast days on the occasion of processions. These paintings are then like the continuation of ancient Nepalese miniatures which M. Foncher has studied with so much authority and competence; even here on the domain of archaeology and of art there appears the characteristic interest of Nepal; we find in it a continuous series so rare in India and scattered over a length of more than a thousand years. We find a millennum and a half from the bass-relief of Lajanpat to the paintings and sculptures of the contemporary artists.

I have not been able to undertake the study of the composition or of the details; competency would be wanting. But I do not doubt that an archaeologist qualified at the head of decisive informations on the origin of Nepalese art, on the influences it has been subject to on those also it has exercised as much to the North as to the South of the Himalayas. The hamsas who inhabit heaven

remind too well the cranes of Chinese and Japanese art not to impose a comparison; the appearance of the horse harnessed or ridden is a precious indication, as well as the treatment of the elephant. Besides among the scenes are represented jatakas and avadanas (Manicuda), Mahakapi, Virupa kotikarna, which can procure expressions of precise comparison. I am pleased to believe that the sacred legend of Nepal will be a document of positive worth in the hands of archaeologists.

The procession of Matsyendra Natha is arranged 6 Nep. 'It is a pen sketch skillfully designed besides on cloth and measuring a length of 2m,85 by a height of about a metre. It is especially interesting from an architectural and picturesque point of view representing a procession around the walls of a town (Foncher). I have already mentioned (11,44 sq) the religious importance of the Matsyendra Natha yatra. The explanatory note the translation of which I give is written is barbarous Sanscrit.

The sacred legend of Nepal
(explanatory note translated from the Sanscrit)

1. (Image of Ganeca). The omnipotent who has published the good law in the three worlds the great Buddha mass of splendour, I adore him and I take my refuge in him.

Having worshipped the lord of the three worlds the principle of principles, receptacle of the Buddhas, I shall proceed to enunciate the summary of the Svayambhuvapurana. Listen with respect. He who listens with faith to this account of the origin of Svayambhu will have the three bodies purified and he will certainly become a Bodhisattva.

2. This is how it happened once upon a time; a sage a son of the Sugata named Jayacri lived in the monastery of Bodhimanda (at Gaya) with a hand of monks. A Bodhisattva named Jinacri, a king came there with a feeling of devotion to take shelter and requested Jayacri's help. Wearing a tunic, and with his hands joined, he went to find him knelt on the ground and fixing his eyes on him, said; Vernerable I wish to hear the story of the origin of Svayambhu; I pray that your Holiness may instruct me. Then the son of the Sugatajayacri, solicited in these terms, bowed to this great prince and taught him.

3. In the kukutarma in a sitting posture, Upagupta in whom was incarnated in part, the Buddha greeting king Acoka taught him this. Brhma Chakra and all the gods scattered to the ten points of space and who had come from the eighteen lakhs of worlds to all of them he taught the excellent law and the origin of Svayambhu.

4. Bhagvat dwelt in the park of Jeta with a band of monks, worshipping him like block of splendour and Ananda addressed him these words: Bhagvat, I wish to hear about the holiness of Nepal Bhagavat said; Ananda, I have already saved the people of Pataliputra and other towns; to-day I shall save the people of Nepal and visit Svayambhu; we all go to Nepal.

5. The lion of Cakyas the saint began his journey to Nepal; Ananda and the other bhiksus riding on their animals; lion, etc... arrived thither. As to Bhagvat he proceeded on foot. Then the Naga Cesa came to find him and addressed him this request; Bhagavat, Oh you who shines by your own splendour get on my back. Long live the Buddha I also I am going thither. He then took him on his back and proceeded on his way.

6. On reaching Mount Sahmengu a

monkey named Dharmakara offered as a present to Caksimha and the bhiksus a panasa fruit.

7. Then Cakasimha, the saint having reached the chaitya of Pucchargra, wished for a Dharmasana (seat for the law); then Vicvakarmana. The Bhagavat shows marvelously; he was red in colour; on his unique face, his eyes became like lotus leaves; his hair, curled on the right, was dark; on his cra-nium (usmsa) there shown a gold tuft; the fingers of his two hands represented the mystical signs (mudra); he was clad in yellow garments (kasaya); the thirty-two signs and the eighty marks shone on him the rays emanating from the hairs of his body spread a refulgence. The gods, Indra, Brahma, etc. and the monks, Ananda, etc. and all the people of Nepal assembled in the chaitya of Pucchagra and formed thither an assembly. And he taught them the Svayambhu-Purana and the holiness of Nepal.

8. In Nepal there is a tank of a length and width of four kos; it is the residence of the Naga Karkotaka; he is called Dhanadaha.

9. Then on mount Jata matrocca a Buddha named Vipacvi appeared; the light he spread around shone; he threw into this tank a grain of lotus mystically consecrated. Afterwards he declared in the days to come, Svayambhu will spontaneously take birth in this tank; in those days the mountain will be called Jata matrocca.

10. And afterwards the saint with the name of Cikhim surrounded by monks mediated on the mountain named Dhyana matrocca; He paid regular honours to Svayambhu visited him penetrated into the shallow water, touched the stem of the lotus and fell insensible with its rays.

11. And afterwards the saint named Vicvabhu dwelt on mount Phullocca and spread on svayambhu who was all light one hundred thousand pots of durva herd, visited him and made the circuit from the right.

12. The goddess Vasundhara who dwells on mount Phullocca made flow by her power the river Prabhavati and the river Godavari and the Godavari dhara.

13. The Bodhisttva Manjucri was dwelling on the mount with the Five summits (Pancacirsa); he has a unique face the colour of saffron and four arms that carry the sword the arrow the book the bow. Engrossed in contemplation that bears the name of Review of the world(lokasamdarccnna) he became aware of the birth of Svayambhu. I am going to see Svayambhu, he solitoquised; in company with Varada and Moksada, his divine spouses he proceeded on his way to Nepal.

14. He reached the edge of the tank; then from mountain to mountain from bank to bank he performed the circuit from the right three times he visited svayambhu.

15. Then settling himself on the right of the tank on mount kapotala he split the mountain with his sword Candrahasa and opened on outlet to the water. Wherever an obstacle stood in the way he removed it; and the water flowing down freely joined the Ganges and then the sea and sanctified it.

16. Then Karkotaka with those around him cried out; I cannot, however, depart with the water, and very soon, he went in search of Manjucri detaining the Nagas in the meanwhile and he told him everything. The Nagas were crying out; what are we to do ? without water, the Naga loses all if we have no more dwellings how are we to remain ?

17-18. The Manjucri showed them the stem of the lotus of Svayambhu that came from Guhyecvari. Then he collected all the riches that were found in the water on mount Sahmyangu, threw them in the tank of Dhanahrada and installed karkotaka thereby giving him three handfulls of water. This is the source of the famous name of Dhandaha. The goddess Guhyecvari khaganana manifested herself in the month of margacirsa, clear fortnight, ninth tithi.

19. She has the colour of saffron nine faces, three eyes for each face, eighteen arms; her first two arms hold the bindu and the patra; the second ones, the drum and the bludgeon, the third ones,the sword and shield, the fourth ones, the arrow and quiver; the fifth ones the dise and the bludgeon, the sixth ones, the hook...; the seventh ones, the thunderbolt and the knot, the eight ones, the trident and the pestle; the ninth ones, perform the gesture of favour and of security. She wears a resplendent diadem set with all kinds of precious stone and made of gold; she wears precious stones to her ear-rings. Her tunic is checkered; her necklace is made of skulls; her body is aglow with flames; she is on the back of a lion; in a position called pratyalidha.

20. Then Manjucri founded the town of Manjupattava and he anointed as king of that town a king named Dharmakara, saying to him; keep your subjects and your kingdom according to the law.

21. King Dharmakara worshipped Svayambhu who manifests himself in the flame and Guhyecvari who manifests herself in the water.

22. Majucri after having told the future Dharmakra and to the monks and disciples; diappeared at the eastern gate of Svayambhu. The monks erected there a caitya dedicated to Manjucri. This is what they name the Manjucri caitya.

23. And afterwards in the town of Ksamavati in the monastery of Ksamakara, the caint Krakucchanda was in a hall, where he taught the good law to the king of Saketa, Dharmapala, to the Brahman Gunadhvaja to the kstrya Abhayandada and to others. Now the saint the master, Krakucchanda wished for the good of the world to propogate the good law throughout the countries. Accompanied by bands of monks spreading everywhere benediction and wisdoms the master went everywhere teaching the law. Let all those he would say who in the cycle of transmigrations aspire to blessedness leave this world and follow the law of Buddha. Thus taught by the price of sages, o prince of men. The hearers, noble beings wished to become monks. And then Gunadhvaja and other Brahmans to the number of four hundred and Abhayamdada and other kstryas to the number of three hundred and other noble beings Vaicyas and cudras the cudras the mind made serene by faith desired to become monks. If you wish he said to them to become monks in the low of the Sugatas, practise the rites pertaining to monks according to the Sugatas. On these wordings he touches their heads with his hands and he solemnly introduced them in the low of the sugatas. Then they let fall their hair, clad themselves in reddish tatters, took the rod and the wooden bowl and became monks.

24. In order to anoint them the Buddha Krakucchanda ascended mount Cainkha and from his word was born a very pure water (The Vagvati).

25. Half the hair of their heads shaved off remained on the rock, the other half

thrown away, gave birth to the river Kecvati. He made use of this water for the anointing.

26. In the town of Saketa there lived king Brahmadatta; his minister was named Subahu; the royal spouse Kantimati; the chaplain, Brahmaratha.

27. Well now queen Kantimati left her house to go in the forest. As Kantimati had become pregnant one hundred and twenty measures of gold were given away as alms. Kantimati remained in the house with her lady-friend who nursed her.

28. Brahmadatta miraculously obtained the water which had washed prince Manicuda and his precious stones (mani) a quantity of gold which he distributed to the poor Certain Gandharvas brought to prince Manicuda a garland of marvellous flowers. Manicuda learnt to read and write.

29. Manicuda had received from king Brahmadatta an elephant named Bhadragiri and a horse named Ajaneya that assured every success; he did not however wish to give it away.

30. A rsi named Bhavabhuti dwelt in the Himalayas; he found on a lotus, a girl newly born whom he named Padmavati.

The rsi Bhavabhuti in order to bring about a wedding spoke of the merits of Manicuda to Padmavati; He is energetic, virtuous, learned, rich, wed him.... Let it be so she answered.

31-34. Then the rsi goes alone in search of Manicuda and lays his request before him. You love to give you are powerful. Well now I am asking you something, give it to me. He then speaks to him of Padmavati. Thereupon Padmavati is sent for by the rsi Valhika and in the town of Saketa she is made over by him to the queen-mother Kantimati. And the queen-mother in her turn makes her over to her son Manicuda.

35. The marriage is celebrated according to the rites.

36. Then mounting a chariot pulled by a horse. Manicuda Padmavati, Rayanavati the rsi Vahlika depart for the town of Saketa. The whole town is having a holiday.

37-38. Then king Brahmadatta, surrounded by his chaplain and his ministers has his son Manicuda anointed king. Soon Padmavati became pregnant; the period attained she gave birth to a son, prince Padmattara. Her lady-friends murse her. Then the two royal hubsands Brahmadatta and Kantimati seclude themselves as hermits in a forest.

39. Manicuda once king compels the observance of the holy practices of the Astami in his capital and all over his kingdom; he has built a charity hall and distributes alms he governs according to justice. In company with Padmavati and of Rayanavati, he honours the Pratyekabuddhas and the brotherhood of monks. At that time the four gods inspectors of the world pass overhead above the palace and are prevented from proceeding any further.

40-41. All four; Brahma Rudra Visnu Jama go and make a report to Cakra. Cakra said to them; it is the strength of report to Cakra. Cakra said to them; it is the strength of his ascetism that prevents you from going further.

In those days king Manicuda calls his chaplain Brahmaratha and tells him to prepare the Nirargada sacrifice. Cakra transforms himself as Raksasa and comes out of the altar

under this aspect; he devours the flesh and blood of Manicuda; then once the sacrifice completed, he cures his wounds.

42. Then king Manicuda gives in to the rsi Bhavabhuti the beneficial fruit of the sacrifice which he offered.

43–44. One day king Duhprasaha sends a messenger to Manicuda to ask him for the return of the elephant Bhadragiri. And if I do not return it.– If you do not return it we shall wage war. Here we go let us equip ourselves and the army of Duhprasaha invested the town of Saketa.

45–46. The rsi Valhika comes to ask Manicuda to give him as a gift the prince Padmattara and the queen Padmavati in order to pay his fees to his master the rsi Marica. Manicuda grants him all he wishes. Later, Manicuda proceeded to the hermitage of Marica, requested and obtained the restitution of the prince and the queen whom he brought back to his palace and anointed Padmattara.

47. Padmattara once crowned king, king Duhprasaha fought him a great battle in which many soldiers of Duhprasaha perished.

48. A few days after Manicuda had an interview with the rsi Gautama. Oh king said the rsi why do you live here in forest... the reason for this is that I wish to obtain the bodhi. The rsi Gautama said; How to reach the Bodhi ? where to take a bath ? to whom pay a worship ?

49–50. Manicuda than uttered the nine Ma which are; 1st mount Manicuda, 2nd the tank Manitadaga; 3rd the Manicaitya; 4th, Maniyogini; 5th the Manianga; 6th the Manidhara; 7th the Mahakala; 8th the Manilinga; the Manirohini.

51–52. once Indra metamorphosed as a Brahman came to ask Manicuda the precious stone of his skull. Manicuda replied to him to do so. They must be washed before removal; thus their brilliancy took the form of Crivatsa and penetrated the linga named Manilingecvara. No sooner were the precious stones removed then they appeared again. Indra and the gods and the rsis Bhavabhuti and Gautama are quite non-plussed. The blood that flowed from the wound formed a river.

53. Everybody returns to Saketa.

54. Padmattara is anointed king; Manicuda retires in the forest with Padmavati; both practise ascetism. By the might of their strictness Manicuda and Padmavati live in the Dharmamegha world.

55. One day the king of the Pancala Vrsakarna has an altercation with his son Gokarna; he hunts him out of the palace. Gokarna becomes an ascetic on the banks of the Bagmati.

56. Once Gokarna proceeds to the locality of Gokarna to offer funeral gifts; thereby he pulls out from hell king Vrsakarna ... prince Gokarna, very afflicted sees in a cloud Padmapani Lokecvara residing at Sukavati speaking to Gaganaganga and heard him saying. Hear you, Gaganaganga Bodhisattva. Go to Pancala take thither prince Gokarna and return..... At the order of the the Arya Avalokitecvara, the Bodhisattva Gaganaganga gets on the back of lion, goes and takes prince Gokarna in Pancala and returns to Sukhavati. It is the famous linga of Gokarna. Now, once, when Vrsakrna and his people held a council and they anointed Gokarna. And Gokarna governed the country of Pancala according to justice (justly).

57. In the course of times a Nagaraja named Kulika, angered, swore to fill up Nepal with water, thereupon beginning from the

river Kanciki all the Nagas came out from the Nagaloka, entered Nepal and flooded her. The creatures began to moan. Arya Avalokitecvara who dwells in Sukhavati sent Samantabhadra who pierced the body of Kulika with the famous linga of Kilecvara; it is mount Carugiri.

58. An Acarya of Manjupura named Sarvapada, in possession of the sex magics; pride excited him to anger and he beat his servants; than, frightened of himself seized with madness he began wandering carrying with him an earthen pot, reaching the banks of the Bagmati, he laid down his pot began his magical operations. Avalokitecvara then sent the Bodhisattva vajrapani. This is the Kumbhecvara. Erection of the caitya.

59-60. A sage from the country of Pancala, Buddhipada had a son, Manjugarta who was absolutely an idiot. Buddhipada found himself incapable of instructing him and sent him to Nepal to worship Manjucri. On reaching the mountain of the south, he met a a pretty girl who was looking after a plantation of sugar-canes and began to amuse himself with her. He was almost lost; but the god Manjucri taking pity hastened towards Manjugarts; he touched his head with his hand saying. Become good and by the effect of this benediction Manjugarta became a poet, he began to sing a hymn before Manjucri. From this originated the famous linga of Manjugartecvara.

61. A master of Odiyana, dwelling on mount Gaganaksepa requests the favours of the cow of plenty; he makes a sacrifice in which he offers fish and meat. The cow gives him her marvellous milk; he makes use of it for an oblation. Then the yogini Gaganakespa grants him a favour. This is the origin of the famous Phanikecvara linga. The Bodhisattva Sarvanivaranaviskambin in the form of a fish.

62. The same master of Odiyana, in order to ascertain the power of the eight magical forces, settles himself on the banks of the Bagmati, on the skin of an elephant and begins his charms. Ganeca who had come to amuse herself in the waters of the Bagmati, gets angry at the sight of a magician sitting on the skin of elephant; he calls to his aid the Putanas and Kataputanas and he throws the evil spell over him. Then the master of Odiyana calls Sadaksari to his help; she brings with her the Dacakrodhas and Ganeca allows himself to be moved. Then the Lokecvara, Ananda, etc., found on mount Kacchapa the famous linga of Gandhecvara.

63. After this another day, the master of Odiyana having passed by the banks of the Bagmati in the neighbourhood of Svayambhu, blows there the conch, he deposits his conch at the spot called Vikramasthala, and enters into a magical meditation. Then Arya Avalokitecvara who resides at Sukhavati, calls the Bodhisattva Khagarbha and says to him; Hear you Bodhisattva Khagarbha go to the place named Vikramasthala. You will see there the master of Odiyana in magical ecstasy; watch over him by installing an emblem in the form of a conch. Erect a linga that will be as famous as the Vikramecvara. At this, order Khagarbha Bodhisattva resides on a lion and proceeds to Vikramasthala. At the same time Garuda is entrapped in the knots of a naga; he immediately calls Visnu in his mind who hastened to help him out of the knots of of the naga. This was the moment when the Bodhisattva Khargarbha had just arrived. Ah said Visnu what luck, and I am glad to see you and he pays him homage and respect-

fully turns to his right. It is you who teaches me the good law climb on my shoulders. This is the origin of the famous Haribariharivahana.

64. Paramecvara and Parvati entertain each other on the confluence of the Bagmati and the Manimati; they practise penance at the place; by the power of the penance Guhyecvari who is pleased, grants them a favour from heaven.

65–66. One bright day, a shepherd on the lookout for a cow rambled from mountain to mountain. He sees a tintini tree and wishes to climb the tree to eat a fruit; but he falls back to earth. A monkey named Kapiraja sees his fall hastens and takes him on his shoulders. In return the shepherd kills the monkey with a stone; in retribution for his fault he is smitten with leprosy; he now becomes all pus, congealed blood and began smelling. His wife and his parents expel him from the house. He wanders about like a vagabond. The king of the Pancala, Vrsakarna meets him; he supplies him with a nag, some money and persuades him to go and make penance at the confluence of Bagmati and the Manimati. The shepherd remains there twelve years; then he dies and goes straight to heaven.

67. In the town of Bandhumati there lived the wealthy merchant Varna; his wife, Varnalaksmi became pregnant and gave birth to a child. The merchant Varna departed with five hundred other merchants to the country of jewels.

68. Varnalaksmi remaining in the house handed her child a wooden bowl and sent him out to beg his food; the people broke his bowl and then sent him back with insults, so great was his ugliness. The poor disgraced man began to make penance at the tirtha and by the strength of his penance he began very handsome. His father who had searched for him everywhere without finding him discovers him at the tirtha and brings him back to town. Precisely at that time there was no king in the country and the ministers have summoned the people to deliberate thereon.

69–71. At that very moment the handsome young man arrives; he is placed on the back of an elephant and the people decide to crown him king. At the favourable moment indicated by the astrologers he receives the royal anointing. He reigns in the name of Maha Sundara, practises justice and lives happy.

72. A king spends his day aimlessly killing the unfortunate gazelles, later in an other world, he becomes a gazelle and under that transformation he is killed by a hunter at the tirtha.

73. Then again in another existence the gazelle is a tiger, the hunter a wild-boar; both meet each other at the Manoratha-tirtha; the tiger receives a blow from the snout of the wild boar, he dies in consequence; the wild boar also dies. Both go straight to heaven for having died at the tirtha.

74. And after this there lived a learned man named Vajrapada in the country of Pancala; he knew perfectly all that concerned astronomy, medicine dialectics and all other sciences in general. And yet he could not manage to win himself a reputation. He asked himself how he could best manage it. He proceeded to the confluence of the Kecavati and the Bhadranadi where is situated the Nirmala tirtha; he took a bath there and brought leaves of the acvattha daily practised penance in the graveyard. A Vidyadhari took him in her favour came to visit him daily and he attained glory.

In the village of Vasavagrama, there

lived an eminent personage named Sena who was as wealthy as Kubera. Yet, through his faults, he tilled the earth. He had a son named Kotikarna who said to him everyday; do not till the earth. But he paid no heed to him and continued to till the ground. The father said to the young man; You better start business and strive to earn thousands and hundreds, and he sent his son to carry on traffic. Kotikarna the trader, went and sought his mother and said to her; My mother, I am going to trade, Answer me. She did not reply to him. He then spoke very strongly to her.

76. He proceeded on his journey in a vehicle and an ass. His companions followed him. But in returning as a punishment for having abused his mother he lost his caravan and remained alone.

77. He came to an iron town and asked the gatekeepers three times for water, but they gave him none. Furious he entered the town and kept five hundred Pretas who asked him for water. He fled.

78. And he reached a second iron town and he asked for water twice and five times; but the gatekeepers did not even listen to him. Furious, he entered the town and met fifteen Pretas who said to him; for twelve years we have not even heard the name of water we are dying of thirst; give us water and he fled. And after this, at evening time, four Apsaras came driving in a celestial chariot. The gate-keeper amused himself with them all night then at dawn they alighted four dogs from the chariot and gave them to him to eat. Kotikarna remained looking motionless.

79. On returning from the world Kotikarna the merchant came quite close to Vasvagrama. He saw a temple and respectfully turned to his right. He saw something written; he looked; and it was his name. He began to ponder and soliloquished; I shall become a monk. And he went in search of the bhiksu Katyayana.

80. On the order of the bhiksu Katyayana he entered his native town, published what he had seen in the other world, bathed in the Cintamani tirtha made funeral offering heard the voice of his father and mother, practised penance at the Cintamani tirtha became bhiksu and obtained deliverance. The Cintamani tirtha is at the confluence of the Bagmati and the Kecavati.

81. The Daitya Danasura having plundered treasures and jewels from the world of the Nagas carried them to the current of a river. This is the origin of the river Ratnavati. Her confluence with the Bagmati forms the Pramoda tirtha. (after this comes the lower band without any marked divisions).

The tirtha Sulaksna at the confluence of the Carumati and the Bagmati. A man who has not the good marks obtains them if he does penance there.

A daughter of Daitya by the effect of the anger of a Daitya and by a desire of getting a son practised penance on the banks of the Bagmati. The goddess Vasundhara satisfied manifested herself before her. This is the origin of the Prabhavati. Her confluence with the Bagmati is the Jaya tirtha.

By the virtue of the Jaya tirtha, the Daitya Bala obtained the Empire of the three worlds; he obtained the elephant Airavata as a riding animal.

Then appear the names of tirthas; Analinga tirtha... Manicila... Godavari... Nadikostha...Mata...Matsyamukha...Nuti... Navalinga...Agastya...Kagecvara Tecapa...

Vagicvara Tara .. Aryatara .. Kali .. Ananta .. Anantanaga .. Sahasra Sundari .. Agastya .. Kapotalo.

On mount Kapotala the Compassionate (Karunamaya) and two Nagas.'

Then come the eight Cmacanas of Nepal with their divinities.

1. Asitanga Bhairava, Brahamayam, Kacchapapada. The Candogracmacana.
2. Krodha Bhairava, Kumari Cavarapada. The Gahvaracmacana
3. Rurn Bhairava, Indrayani Virypaksapada. The Jvalamakulacmacana.
4. Kapala Bhairava Varahi Varuna Naga, Krkalasapada. The Kalankacmacana.
5. Ummattta Bhairava Vaisnavi Carpatipada. The Ghorandhakacmacana.
6. Samhara Bhairava Camunda. The Laksmivarnacmacana.
7. Cukra Bhairava Mahecvari Nagaripada. The Kilakilocmacana.
8. Bhisana Bhairava Mahalaksmi Kukkuripada. The Attattahasacmacana, Kanakamuni in the Cobhitarama vihara, His caitya with worshippers.

In Benares in the large convent of Vikramacila Dharmacri mitra comments upon the Namasanegiti; but he cannot succeed in interpreting the twelve syllables. He then goes to interview Manjucri on mount Pancacirsa in the Mahacina. When I will have obtained from him the interpretation of the Twelve syllables he said, I shall return. He thereupon proceeds to mount Pancacirsa; arrives in Nepal. Manjucri, seized with compassion came in front of him tilling the ground with a lion and a tiger. Dharmacri mitra looks at him and asks him; What distance from here to the mountain of Mahacina; the peasant replies to him; it is too late to continue this evening, night is approaching. Remain with me, I shall show you the way. He takes him to his house, instructs him on the way, gives him to eat the five dishes of ambrosia. Dharmacri mitra soliloquises, Tigers and lions are not domesticated. This must be some holy personage here and he falls asleep on his seat. The peasant had retired to his sleeping room; suddenly a voice is heard; Manjucri replies; Varda, my dearest it is Dharmacri mitra of the monastery of Vikramcila; he has been able to interpret the Nama Samgiti but he does not know the commentary of the Twelve syllables. Varada replies; How can the commentary of the twelve syllables to know ? Recite it is to me. Manjucri recites it. Dharmacri mitra hears all, prostrate before the door. In the morning, Varada and Moksada come to open the door; in seeing there Dharmacri mitra, They are seized with fright and enter again inside. The Manjucri arrives; Arise he said. He takes him by the hand makes him stand gives him the anointing of the Vajra and teaches him the commentary of the twelve syllables. Dharmacri mitra prostrates himself at the foot of his master. I cannot, he said to him my master pay you appropriate fees. Have mercy on me come and see me. Thereupon Dharmacri mitra returns to Vikramacila and there he instructs the students. At that moment Manjucri appears like a tall old man holding a lotus; he enters the monastery. Dharmacri mitra sees him but feigns not to see him. Once the lesson is over the hearers leave the room. Dharmacri mitra hastens to greet his master but he now moves away without looking at him. O my master forgive me my fault he cries out and he falls at his feet. As a result of his fault his eyes fall out. The guru then

says to him. From today your name will be Juanacri mitra and you will see as if you had eyes. Then he vanished. After this it is the acarya Cantacri. The acarya had covered up with a stone the holy manifestation of the light; he had erected above it a caitya of bricks; built a gold bell-turret, a gold cushion, a gold parasol. He then performs the magic of the Nagas to have the rain to fall during the season. All the Nagas arrive save Karkotaka. Then Cantacri the acarya calls Gunakama deva and says to him; go to the Dhanahrada, call Karkotaka and return, and he gives Gunakama deva a handful of white grains that Gunakama deva goes and quitely throws into the Dhanahrada. Come Karkotaka he cries out. I am too deformed to present myself replies Karkotaka. Gunakama deva seizes him by the hair, lays hold of him and brings him along. And the troops of gods appear everywhere for the blessing.

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The procession of Matsyendra Natha
(Explanatory Note translated from the Sanscrit)

Firstly by proceeding from the left the caitya of Svayambhu, having in front the image of Aksobhya and on its right that of Vairocana. Above it the bell turret gold plated still above this the gold parasol. To the right and left two temples of gods.

Below a temple of god built of brick and parget.

To the left a fully decorated house with three windows and archways; at each of the windows a person who holds religious offerings to present them.

To the left a temple of the god built there stories high each one covered with gold plated; at each roof a garland of small bells that tinkle in the breeze. Above a gilded bell-turret. Below the temple leads on to three terraces and the door is painted in vivid colours.

To the left a large three-storied house; below on the terrace a man and three women, one of them carries a child; a young boy has climbed a wall to look; on the second floor; at a painted window, a main crosses his hands in adoration; on the right and left, women, in the same attitude; on the third floor, a man with hands crossed, looks at the procession of Arya Avalokitecvara.

Then a large three storied house at each storey a window of carved wood and painted with a personage who is looking on; they all have their hands joined; personages are also looking from over the wall of the enclosure.

Procession of Arya Avalokitecvara called Bugyat. To the right and left of the divinity two old men standing. Outside the chapel the king's representative his fly-flap bearer; below two body-guards; ahead two upadhyayas; to the right and left, two woodchoppers (Barahi). Two to three hundred persons pull on the ropes to move the chariot. Ahead of the chariot banners lamps torches perfuming-pa a bell, musicians who play all kinds of musical instruments drums, tambourines, cymbals trumpets. Spectators on all sides, riding on elephants. In the distance merchants and merchants of betel and arecca nut, etc.

A pretty house, a three-storied house, with windows balconies decorated pillars.

A temple of the goddess three-storied high very pretty.

A picturesque house with sculptured windows.

A three-storied house painted in colours with decorated windows and balconies.

A two-storied dharmacala, very pretty.

A little everywhere people come from the surrounding villages, in their feast attires to see the procession in Lalita-pattna and who afterwards return to the villages.

(To be continued)

वंशावली र वंशावलीहरू

डा. जगदीशचन्द्र रेग्मी

नेपालको इतिहास बुझ्न यहाँ पाइने विभिन्न काल-का शिलालेख-अभिलेखहरूले धेरै सहायता गरे पनि हाम्रो वंशावली साहित्यको इतिहासको लेखन र मूल्यांकनमा अपरिहार्य महत्त्व छ भन्ने स्पष्ट छ।

विभिन्न खालका वंशावलीहरूको चर्चा, उपयोग र प्रकाशन आजसम्म भएको छ जुनबाट हामीलाई ऐतिहासिक घटनाहरू बुझ्न सजिलो भएको छ र तुलनात्मक अध्ययन गर्न सजिलो परेको छ। तर इतिहास निर्माणका लागि अत्यावश्यक भएका यस्ता सबै खालका वंशावली-हरूको प्रकाशन हुनु अत्यावश्यक देखिन्छ किनभने प्रत्येक खालका वंशावलीमा एक न एक विशेषता देखिएको छ। यहाँ अप्रकाशित वंशावलीबारे केही चर्चा गरिन्छ जुनको प्रकाशन गर्न सके इतिहासको अध्ययनलाई ठूलो सहयोग हुने विश्वास गर्न सकिन्छ ।

नेपालको वंशावली साहित्यको ठूलो संग्रह हगसनले गरेको थाहा पाइएको छ जसले नेपालमा बस्दा यहाँका धर्म र धार्मिक साहित्य एवं लेखोट किताबका असंख्य ग्रन्थहरू सङ्कलित गरेर लण्डनमा लगेर राखिदिएका थिए। त्यस संग्रहभित्र कति थरी वंशावली छन् भन्ने कुराको संक्षिप्त चर्चा यहाँ गरिन्छ।

१. नं. २७ (१९)–
Bamsavalis, 5 books: Vol. 17. Fol. 1–117; Vol. 52, Fol. 180–1.

२. नं. २८ (७)–
Chronology of Nepal, Vol. 17. Fol. 220–27.

३. नं. २९ (८)–
Bamsavali, Newari, 2 Vols: Vol. 9, 16, 17, and 19.

४. नं. २९ (१६)–
Bamsavali, Newari, Vol. 52. Fol. 7–52; Vol. 102, Fol. 9–16.

५. नं. २९ (१-६)–
Gorkha Bamsavali, Vol. 51, Fol, 49–1, 92–107; Vol. 55, Fol. 1–4.

६. नं. ३० (१)–
Gorkha Bamsavali, Nepali and History of Nepal, Vol. 52, Fol. 57–82; Vol. 74, Fol. 21–23; Vol. 101, Fol. 140–150.

७. नं. ३२ (१)–
Vamsavali etc. Vols. 50, 54, 56, 93, 95 and 104.

८. नं. ३२ (२)–
Vamsavali, Vol. 93, Fol. 89 ff; Vol. 101 Fol. 158–167.

९. नं. ३२ (५)–
Early Gorkha Vamsavalis, Vol. 51, Fol. 111–120.

१०. नं. ३३ (६)–
Gorkha Bamsavali, Roll No. 45.
११. नं. ३६ (१)–
Vamsavali Statistics etc, Vols. 26, 51, 54, 74, 99, 100 and 101.
१२. नं. ३७ (५)–
Vamsavali, Vol. 51, Fol. 181–2.
१३. नं. ३९ (६)–
Nepal Chronology, Vol. 7. Fol. 152–170.
१३. नं. ३९ (९)–
Vamsavalis, Vols. 50 and 55

माथि चर्चित १४ शीर्षक[1] र त्यस अन्तर्गत पनि कति भाग वंशावलीहरूको उल्लेख परेकोले कति थरी वंशावली उक्त संग्रहमा रहेछन् भन्ने अन्दाज गर्न सकिन्छ ।

माथि चर्चित वंशावलीहरूमध्ये नं ३ र ४ मा नेवारी भाषाका वंशावलीहरूको चर्चा पाइनु महत्त्वपूर्ण छ । किनभने हामीकहाँ नेवारी भाषामा लेखिएका वंशावलीको अस्तित्व अज्ञात छ ।

विदेश पुगेको एउटा अर्को वंशावलीको उल्लेख पाइन्छ डी. राइटको संग्रहमा रहेको जसलाई "Nepalese History (Hindu Reduction)" शीर्षक दिइएको छ ।[2] विदेश पुगेका अन्य वंशावलीहरूबारे पनि खोजमेल हुनु आवश्यक छ ।

नेपालबाट पनि थरी थरीका वंशावलीको प्रकाशन विभिन्न रूपमा भएका छन् तर कति अप्रकाशित अवस्थामा पनि रहेका देखिन्छन् । जस्तो राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखालयको सूचीपत्रमा ९ थरी वंशावलीको उल्लेख पाइन्छ[3] जुनमध्ये एउटाको प्रकाशन डा. कमलप्रकाश मल्लले गर्नुभएको छ ।[4] उहाँले उक्त वंशावलीको छविचित्र र आङ्ल अनुवादको प्रकाशन गर्नुभएको छ । यस लघु लेखको पुछारमा उक्त छविचित्रबाट पाठ पढी मूल वंशावली प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ पाठकहरूको सुविधाको लागि ।

प्रत्येक संस्करणका वंशावलीमा केही न केही विशेषता वा नौला सूचना पाइने हुनाले ती प्रत्येकको महत्त्व हुन सक्दछ भन्ने कुरा तल प्रस्तुत वंशावलीमा उल्लेख भएका दुई नौला तथ्यलाई यहाँ औंल्याइन्छ । उक्त वंशावलीको पत्र ५ (क–ख) मा राजा मानदेवले दुइटा तलाउ भएको सात तले मानगृह बनाएको उल्लेख गरिएको छ । मानदेवले मानगृह दरबार बनाएको यस्तो स्पष्ट उल्लेख अन्यत्र नपाइने हुँदा यो सूचनाको कति महत्त्व छ भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट छ । यसै गरी राजा मानदेवकी बडामहारानी भोगिनीको उल्लेख गर्ने पहिलो वंशावली पनि यही देखिएको छ । यही वंशावलीले मानदेवलाई धर्मदेवका दत्तक पुत्र पनि भनिदिएर अचम्मको तथ्य पनि प्रस्तुत गरेको छ ।

यही वंशावलीले पत्र १० क मा देवलदेवीलाई पदुमलदेवीकी छोरी (अथवा रुद्र मल्लकी बहिनी) भनेर उल्लेख गरेको तथ्य पनि ज्यादै महत्त्वपूर्ण छ । मध्यकालीन इतिहासमा देवलदेवीको राजनीतिक गतिविधिको महत्त्वबारे त गोपाल वंशावलीबाट धेरै कुरा थाहाभइसकेको हो तर उनी को हुन् भन्ने बारेमा स्पष्ट ज्ञान हुन सकेको थिएन । यही वंशावलीले देवलदेवीलाई तत्कालीन राजनीतिका हर्ताकर्ता जयरुद्रमल्लकी बहिनीको नाता स्पष्ट पारिदिएको छ । तर यिनै देवलदेवीलाई सिम्रोनगढका राजा हरिसिंहदेवकी पत्नी मान्ने विचार विद्वान्हरूले गरेको पृष्ठभूमिमा हरिसिंहदेव सिम्रोनगढ राज्यबाट भागेर तीनपाटनतिर आइपुग्दा मरेका र उनका परिवार भक्तपुर दरबारको आश्रयमा बस्न थालेका र राजनीतिमा प्रभावशाली हुन पुगेको कुरा तत्कालीन इतिहासको महत्त्वपूर्ण घटना मानिन्छ ।

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१. यो सूची हामीले–Bikram Jit Hasrat–History of Nepal, Punjab, 1970. P. XVII बाट लिएका हौं ।
२. D. Wright - History of Nepal, Calcutta, 1966, P.221.
३. बुद्धिसागर शर्मा –संक्षिप्तसूचीपत्रम्, वीरपुस्तकालय, २०२० पृ., ७६, १३५ ।
४. Kamal P. Malla –Nepala Vamsavali: A Complete Version of the Kaisher Vamsavali ?, Contributions to Nepalese Studies, CNAS/TU Vol. 12, No. 2, April 1985, PP. 75–101.

परिशिष्ट

नेपालवंशावली

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श्रीगणपतये नमः ।। श्रीपशुपतये (नमः) ।। क्रमेणवर्त्तमाने कलियुगे समस्तभूपालमौलिमालाचरणाम्बु-जस्य राजा श्रीमत पृथ्वीस्थिता राजा हिमवतः शैलमध्ये-वर्त्तिनि महारथीभूतमण्डले भृंगिरेश्वरभट्टारकः प्रादुर्भूतः तदनु गौतमादिभिः ऋषिगणैस्तत्र गोतमेश्वरादयो देवा प्रतिष्ठिताः अनन्तरे भृंगरेश्वरभट्टारकश्लेमान्तकवने विहरति स्म ।। नेपनामा गोपालो वभूव तस्य कपिलगवी वाग्मतीरे गत्वा तया क्षीरधारया संसिक्ते भूप्रदेशे श्रीमान् पशुपतिः प्रकाशितः तेन नेपनाम्ना गोपालेन पशुपतिः प्रतिष्ठाकृतः ।। ततः परेण गोपालवंसानां क्रमेण राज्यं भुंजितः ।। तत्राद्यः राजा भूम्मागह वर्ष ८४ ।। राजा श्रीजयगुप्त वर्ष ७३ मास ३ ।। राजा श्री परगुप्त वर्ष

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९१ ।। राजा श्री हर्षगुप्त ६७ ।। राजा श्री भिमगुप्त वर्ष ३८ ।। राजा श्री मणिगुप्त वर्ष ३७ ।। राजा श्री विष्णु-गुप्त वर्ष ४६ ।। राजा श्री जयगुप्त वर्ष ७१ मास १ ।। एवमष्टौ श्री गोपालराजानः ।। तत गोपालान् निर्जित्य महीपालक्रमेण राज्यप्रतिपालनाय राजा वरसिंह वर्ष ४९ ।। राजा श्री जयसिंह वर्ष २१ मास ७ ।। राजा श्री भवनसिंह वर्ष ४१ ।। एते तु गोपालमहिपाला राजानो भवन्ति ।। ततः पश्चात् सर्वकिरांतराजाप्रवृत्तः ।। राजा श्री एलं वर्ष ९० ।। राजा श्री पंमि वर्ष ७९ मास ३ ।। राजा श्री धस्कं वर्ष ३७ ।। राजा श्री वलंच वर्ष ३१ मास ६ ।। राजा श्री हुन्ति वर्ष ४१ मास १ ।। राजा श्री हुमन्ति वर्ष ५० ।। राजा श्री तुस्क वर्ष ४१ मास ८ ।। राजा श्री श्रुपस्थ वर्ष ३८

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मास ६ ।। राजा श्री पव्व वर्ष ४६(५६) ।। राजा श्री जित्यदास्ती वर्ष ६० ।। राजा श्री पंच्यं वर्ष ७१ ।। राजा श्री क्यंक्यंक्यं वर्ष ५६ ।। राजा श्री स्वनन्द वर्ष ५० मास ८ ।। राजा श्री स्थुंको वर्ष ५८ ।। राजा श्री गिघृ वर्ष ६० मास ६ ।। राजा श्री जन्य वर्ष ७३ मास २ ।। राजा श्री लुके वर्ष ६० मास १ ।। राजा श्री थोर वर्ष ७१ ।। राजा श्री थोक्वो वर्ष ८३ ।। राजा श्री चर्म्म वर्ष ७३ मास ६ ।। राजा श्री गुजं वर्ष ७२ मास ७ ।। राजा श्री पुस्कं वर्ष ८१ ।। राजा श्री त्यस्नु वर्ष ५६ ।। राजा श्री सुग्मं वर्ष ५८ ।। राजा श्री सस वर्ष ६३ ।। राजा श्री गुणं वर्ष ७४ ।। राजा श्री खिवु वर्ष ७४ ।। राजा श्री गलजिं वर्ष ८१ ।। एते कितरांराजानः ।। ।। अथांतरे सूर्य्यवंसोत्पत्तिः कथ्येते ।। कल्पान्ते भगवद्वि-

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ष्णुनाभिकमलद्भवो ब्राह्मा प्रादुर्भूतः ।। ब्रह्मणः पुत्रः मरीचिः ।। मरीचेः पुत्र कश्यपः ।। कस्प (स्य) पस्य पुत्र भगवान्सुर्य्यः ।। सुर्य्यस्य पुत्रो मनुः ।। मनोः पुत्र काकु-त्स्थः ।। काकुत्स्थस्य पुत्रो वेणुः ।। वेणोः पुत्रः पुष्पः ।। पुष्पपुत्रः अनन्यः ।। अनन्यस्य पुत्रः पृथूः ।। पृथो पुत्रस्त्रि-शंकरः ।। स्त्रिशंकरस्य पुत्रो धुंधिमारः ।। धुंधिमारस्य पुत्रो पवनास्व ।। पवनास्वरय पुत्रः मांधाताः ।। मांधातुः पुत्रो सुसंधिः ।। सुसंधिपुत्र धृतिसंधिः ।। धृतिसंधिपुत्रो भरतः ।। भरतस्य पुत्रो असितः ।। असितपुत्र सगरः ।। सगरस्य पुत्रः असमंजः ।। असमंजस्य पुत्रः अंसुमानः ।। अंसुमानस्य पुत्रः दिलिपः ।। दिलीपस्य पुत्र भगीरथः ।। भगीरथस्य पुत्रः ककुत्स्थः ।। ककुत्स्थस्य पुत्र रघु ।। रघा-पुत्र कल्माष-

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पादः ।। कल्माषपादस्य पुत्रः संखनः ।। संखनस्य पुत्रः समुद्रसेन ।। समुद्रसेनस्य पुत्र अग्निवर्ण अग्निवर्णस्य पुत्रः श्री गर्गः ।। श्री गर्गस्य पुत्रः पशुश्नुतः ।। पशुश्नुतस्य पुत्र अम्बरीष ।। अम्बरीषस्य पुत्र नहुषः ।। नहुषस्य पुत्रः वनाभागः ।। वनाभागस्य पुत्रः अजः ।। अजस्य पुत्रः दसरथः ।। दसरथस्य पुत्रः रामः ।। रामस्य पुत्रोः लवकुशौ ।। लवस्य पुत्रः स्यान् ।। एते अयोध्यानृपा वर्त्तन्ते ।। ।। ।। अतपरे ईक्ष्वाकुवंसे ।। विशालः विशाल-पुत्र हेमचन्द्र ।। हेमचन्द्रस्य पुत्रः सुचन्द्रः ।। सुचन्द्रस्य पुत्र धुमाः ।। धुमायाः पुत्रः सृंजयः ।। सृंजयस्य पुत्र सुवर्णषती ।। सुवर्णषतीपुत्रः कृशाश्वः ।। कृशाश्वस्य पुत्रः सोमदत्त ।। सोमदत्तस्य पुत्रो वंशजन्मेजय ।। वंसे जन्मेजयस्य पुत्रः प्रमितिः ।। प्रमि-

पत्र ३ ख

तिपुत्रो मतिमान् ॥ मतिमतो पुत्रो वंस ॥ एते नृप विमाननगरी अवतार्य्य सूर्य्यवंशभगवान्वभूवु: ॥ ॥ अथ नेपाले किरांतप्रवेश: ॥ पुन: किरांतन् विनिर्जित्य ॥ राजा श्री निर्मीषितंकाल वर्ष ५० ॥ राजा श्री मतारात्र वर्ष ९१ ॥ राजा श्री काकवर्मा वर्ष ७६ ॥ राजा श्री षष्ट-पुष्पदेव वर्ष ५६ ॥ अनन्येन नेपालभूमि चातुव्वर्णमयी कृता ॥ श्रीमत्पशुपतिभट्टारकस्य देवलं शंखलीसंछनया अतिसुन्दरं निर्मितं यत्नेन सकलराज्ये मा (म) र्जातकृत्य न्यायेन प्रजा पालिताश्च संवत्सरव्यवहारताश्च प्रवर्त्त-नेति ॥ राजा श्री भास्करवर्म्मा वर्ष ७४ ॥ तेन राज्ञा पशुपतिभट्टारकस्य प्रसादं प्राप्य ॥ दक्षि (ण) सागरप-र्य्यन्तं संकांचननगरभूमण्डलं विनिर्जित्य तत्रैव अनर्घरत्ना-निसुवर्णकोषकांचनानि-

पत्र ४ क

ष्पादयति आनीय श्रीपशुपति भट्टारकाय संप्रवदत्तं । राजा श्री भूमिवर्म्मा वर्ष ४१ ॥ राजा चन्द्रवर्मा वर्ष २१ ॥ राजा श्री जयवर्म्मा वर्ष ६२ ॥ राजा श्री वर्षवर्मा वर्ष ५७ ॥ राजा श्री सर्व्ववर्मा वर्ष ४८ ॥ राजा श्री पृथ्वी-वर्म्मा वर्ष ५६ ॥ राजा श्री ज्येष्टवर्म्मा वर्ष ४८ ॥ राजा श्री कुवेरवर्म्मा वर्ष ६४ ॥ राजा श्री हरिवर्म्मा वर्ष ७६ ॥ राजा श्री सिद्धिवर्म्मा वर्ष ६१ ॥ राजा श्री हरि-दत्तवर्म्मा वर्ष २९ ॥ तेन चतु शिषरप्रदेशे भगवतो विष्णु-भट्टारकस्य देवालयं संपूर्ण कृतवानिति ॥ राजा श्री वसु-दत्त वर्ष ३३ ॥ राजा श्री शिरिपातवर्म्मा वर्ष ३(?) ॥ राजा श्री वृद्धिवर्म्मा वर्ष ७७ ॥ राजा श्री वसन्तदेव वष (वर्ष) ६१ ॥ राजा श्री पुष्पदेव वर्ष ५६(॥) राजा श्री भास्करदेव वर्ष ७४ ॥ तेन हि राज्ञा पशुपतेस्त्रय-स्विन (तपस्विनं ?) कृतं ॥ तेन पशुपतिभर्त्तारककांच-

पत्र ४ ख

ननगरभूमण्डलं विनिर्जित्य तत्रैव अनर्घरत्नज्वलितसुवर्ण-कोषकांचनानामपरिनामानीय श्रीपशुपतिभट्टारकाय संप्रदत्तं ॥ राजा श्री भूमिवर्म्मा वर्ष ५१ ॥ राजा श्री चन्द्रवर्म्मा वर्ष २१ ॥ राजा श्री जयवर्म्मा वर्ष ६७ ॥ राजा श्री वर्षवर्म्मा वर्ष ५५ ॥ राजा श्री सर्व्ववर्म्मा वर्ष ४८ ॥ राजा श्री पृथ्वीवर्म्मा वर्ष ७६ ॥ राजा श्री ज्येष्टवर्म्मा वर्ष ६८ ॥ राजा श्री कुवेरवर्म्मा वर्ष ७५ ॥ राजा श्री हरिवर्म्मा वर्ष ४६ ॥ राजा श्री सिद्धिवर्म्मा वर्ष ६१ ॥ राजा श्री हरिदत्तवर्म्मा वर्ष २९ ॥ तेन चतुरशिखरप्रदेशे भगवत्विष्णुभट्टारकस्य देवालयसंपूर्ण-कृतवानिति ॥ राजा श्री सुदत्तवर्म्मा वर्ष ३३ ॥ राजा श्रीपति वर्ष ३५ ॥ राजा श्री शिववृद्धिवर्म्मा वर्ष ७७ ॥ राजा श्री वसंतदेव वर्ष ६१ ॥ राजा श्री 'शिवदेव वर्ष ५७ ॥ राजा

पत्र ५ क

श्री वृषदेव वर्ष ५७ ॥ तेन शांगुमहाचैत्रभट्टारकाय प्रति-ष्ठितं ॥ श्री पशुपति भट्टारकस्योत्तरदिशि त्रिशूलप्रति-ष्ठितं चेति ॥ ॥ राजा श्री करदेव वर्ष ५० ॥ राजा श्री धर्म्मदेव वर्ष ५१ ॥ तेन पशुपति दक्षिनमूर्त्तिमहद्वृष-ध्वजोपि कृतवान् दशनचैत्र भट्टारकस्य प्रतिष्ठितं ॥ ॥ तत: अवंसज प्रतिपालितपुत्र ॥ राजा श्री मानदेव वर्ष ३९ ॥ तेन स्वयंभूचैत्रभट्टाकरश्च दृष्ट: ॥ सुसस्ततहिन: ॥ मानवि-हाराश्च ॥ राजाश्रीधानिमानगृहं सप्तपरमसमेतं दीर्घिकाद्व-यसंयुक्तं चतुसावतमोदनधारचेष्ठितं ॥ नेपालचुडामणिभूतं च ॥ केशयुनादुद्धृत्य (?) हेममपि भगवते मानगृहे प्र-

पत्र ५ ख

तिष्ठित कृत देवलं च कृत्वा ॥ तस्य राजा भोगिनीदग्ध-राजाचिताग्निसंस्काराज्ञमकरोत् ॥ त्वया कृत ताम्रशृं-खलीयुतसंछन्न ॥ अस्थानभूमिकं ॥ अति महत् श्री मण्डपं मनिविहारश्च सम्वत्सर स्वय (यं) परिवर्त्तकृता ॥ राजा श्री महिदेव वर्ष ५१ ॥ राजा श्री वसन्तदेव वर्ष ५६ ॥ राजा श्री उदयदेव वर्ष ४७ ॥ राजा श्री मनदेव वर्ष ४५ ॥ तेन पशुपति भट्टारकाय वर्षत्रयमनावृष्टि: वृष्टि आकर्षनामन कोष मणियुक्तं च दत्तवान् ॥ राजा श्री सु (गु) नकामदेव वर्ष ५० ॥ राजा श्री शिवदेव वर्ष ४१ मास ६ ॥ तेन हि कुद्धं विहारचैत्रश्च कृतवान ॥ राजा श्री नरेन्द्रदेव वर्ष ३४ ॥ तेन पशुपतिभट्टारकाय अनेकर-त्नविचित्रकोषं संप्रदत्तं ॥ तत्रैव सुवर्णप्रनाली त्रिपुरवे

पत्र ६ क

सुवर्णमण्डलि च कृतवान् ॥ राजा श्री भिमदेव वर्ष १६ ॥ तत्परेण सूर्य्यवंशं विनिर्जित्य पुनश्चगोपालवंस: राज्यं करोति ॥ राजा श्री विष्णुगुप्त वर्ष ७४ ॥ तेन हि तीन-

पालविष्णुभट्टारकस्य सुवर्णछदन उपसोभित देवालयं च कृतं ।। राजा विष्णुगुप्त वर्ष ६१ ।। तेन पशुपते वृहत्शिलामयविष्णुभट्टारकेश्वर ।। नदीपारे कृतवान् अपरं अनेकविष्णुप्रतिमाप्रतिष्ठिता नेपालि च गौरीनागरीपि विशेषश्च वर्त्तितेति ।। राजा श्री भूमिगुप्त वर्ष ४५ ।। ।। भूयोपि सूर्यवंशो राज्यं चकार ।। राजा श्री शिवदेव वर्ष ४१ ।। तदग्रि (?) राजा अंशुवर्म्मा वर्ष ४३ ।। तेन अंशुव्रहमलिप्यव्यवहाराय कृतवान् ।। पिण्डकादिव्यवहारे लिपिविशेष च कृतं ।। व्याकर्णशास्त्रश्च कृ-

पत्र ६ ख

तवान् तस्य राजापुत्र श्रीमानतत: गछदेश्वर आगतेन नेपालविहारप्रतिष्ठितवान् कृत्यवर्ष १० ।। राजा श्री कृतवर्म्मा वर्ष १८ ।। राजा श्री भिमार्जुनदेव वर्ष ३७ ।। राजा श्री नन्ददेव वर्ष १३ ।। राजा श्री शिवदेव वर्ष १६ ।। तेन हि पशुपतिभट्टारकाय रजतेष्टपत्रशोभितपद्मनिर्मित देपीयविहारकृत १० ।। यथासुखी भिक्षुश्च कृताशास्त्रादिश्च ।। राजा श्री नरेन्द्रदेव वर्ष ३७ ।। वन्धुदत्तेन देवार्च्चने वुगं भट्टारकस्य ललितषट्टने यात्रा कृता ।। राजा श्री वलदेव वर्ष १७ ।। राजा श्री शंकरदेव वर्ष १२ ।। राजा श्री वर्धमानदेव वर्ष १६ ।। राजा श्री शंकरदेव वर्ष १२ ।। राजा श्री भिमार्जुनदेव वर्ष १६ ।। राजा श्री जयदेव वर्ष १९ ।। राजा श्री वलदेव वर्ष १६ ।। तेन पशुपतिभट्टारकस्वनाम्ना कोषदश्च ।। पश्चात् भोटमण्डले स्वराज्यं करोति ।।

पत्र ७ क

राजा श्री केन्द्रदेव वर्ष २७ ।। तेन पुन भोटान्तपर्य्यन्त निष्कण्टकराज्यं करोति ।। राजा श्री जयदेव वर्ष ४९ मास ११ ।। राजा श्री वलदेव वर्ष ११ ।। राजा श्री वालार्जुनदेव वर्ष ३६ मास ७ ।। भातृभार्य्या संभवतेन हि वुगं भट्टारिकाय स्वमुकुटं प्रदत्तं ।। राजा श्री मानदेव वर्ष ३६ ।। तेन वल्वनादंतवनिमि प्रतिष्ठितं ।। राजा श्री राघव वर्ष ६३ मास ८ ।। श्री पशुपतिभट्टारके सम्वत्सरप्रवृतिकृता ।। राजा श्री शंकरदेव वर्ष १८ मास ६ ।। राजा श्री सहदेव वर्ष ३३ मास ९ ।। राजा श्री विक्रमदेव वर्ष १ ।। राजा श्री नरेन्द्रदेव वर्ष १ मास ६ ।। राजा श्री गुणकामदेव वर्ष ८५ मास ६ ।। तेन पशुपतिभट्टारकाय एकादशकोषप्रदत्तं ।। तत्रैव ईशानेश्वरस्य वासुकिभट्टारकस्य ताम्रशखलीछादनं कृत्य तत्रैव दीर्घचोपाडिकाकृत्य ।। सुवर्णपनालीए कोटीहोमं

पत्र ७ ख

कृतश्चेति ।। ।। राजा श्री उदयदेव वर्ष ६ ।। राजा श्री निर्भयदेव वर्ष ५ ।। राजा श्री भोजदेव रुद्रदेव वर्ष ९ मास ७ ।। तेन भोजदेवेन श्रीमण्डपविनाशिता ।। राजा श्री लक्ष्मीकामदेव वर्ष २१ ।। तेन हि चंपटपश्चोत्सहिते सम्वत्सरे निधाने राष्ट्रशांन्तिकृता ।। राजा श्री जयदेव वर्ष २० ।। तेन हि ललीतपुर अर्द्धराज्यं कृत्य वर्ष १० ।। राजा भास्करदेव जयदेव उभयराजा वर्ष ७ मास ४ ।। तेन हि भास्करदेवेन पितृमौलिविकृत १० सुवर्णमयमहोत्तरभट्टारकस्य कांचननाशिता तद्दोषेण अंधीभवति ।। राजा वलदेव वर्ष १२ ।। तेन अत्यन्त सुभिक्षकारोतेन वज्ररथे हरिपुरकृतं ।। राजा श्री पद्मदेव वर्ष ६ ।। तेन हि मकुटं कृतवान् ।। राजा श्री नागार्जुनदेव वर्ष ३ ।। राजा श्री शंकरदेव वर्ष १७ ।। तेन हि नदिसालायां शंकरेश्वर भट्टारकाय

पत्र ८ क

प्रतिष्ठिता ।। देवकुलं च पुर्णकृत्य ।। राष्ट्रशान्तिकाश्च कृता विहाराश्च प्रारत भगवती मनोहरभट्टारकाय प्रतिष्ठितं ।। राजा श्री वामदेव वर्ष ३ ।। राजा श्री हर्षदेव वर्ष १६ ।। उनविंसतिप्रतिसम्वरद्वयवर्तमान: ।। राजा श्री वामदेव वर्ष ३ ।। राजा श्री हर्षदेव वर्ष १६ ।। शिवदेव वर्ष २७ मास ७ ।। तेन हि पशुपतिभट्टारकस्य स्वर्णशृखलीछादनंकृता ।। तत कीर्त्तिभक्तग्रामे वलदतीव्रवंधायानीता प्रनालिकापुस्करणी सकलजनानन्दकृता चतुर्भूमिकं पंचपुरसरस १० युक्तं १ श्रीमत् राजा गृह १० सुनिखादितं ।। श्रीमत्पशुपतिभट्टारकस्य रजतपद्मपुनर्घटित पूर्वदंमव्यवहारनास्ति सुवर्णरक्तिकस्तवे स्वश्रीसिंहाकृतरुपं दमकृत वेवहार सुवर्णमयी श्रीवस्याकृतिशिविकां च कृत्य पूर्वशि-

पत्र ८ ख

खरदेवस्य परिवारसहितेन जीर्णोद्धारं कृतं ।। राजा श्री ईन्द्रदेव वर्ष १२ ।। राजा श्री मानदेव वर्ष ४ मास ७ ।। राजा श्री नरेन्द्रदेव वर्ष ६ मास ४ माघ कृष्णचन्द्रमा-

प्रतिपदसप्तादिद्विके काले वर्षसतद्वये शुभदिने राज्यं वरप्राप्यते ।। नेपालसमस्त मण्डलमहीपालप्रजानाशनं पीड्यं शास्त्रदासुरमितगुणे श्री नन्ददेवप्रभूतेन हि भक्तग्रामे शिवगलटोलके देवालयकृते देवहृदयप्रतिष्ठितं ।। त्रिपुरसहिता राजधानिप्रतिष्ठिते ।। राजकुलखनीये सूवर्णपणाली कृता ।। श्री नेपालमहीमण्डलीकमहापात्रमुखसमस्तप्रजानां पुत्रपौत्रादिविक्रितः ।। स (सं) तापदुःखाग्निप्रपिडिते हृदयानां च वंधन प्रवर्त्तते ।। धारापक्कृतानां चौरकंवानहृत्य महास्तेनकृते शुक्रदिने नाटिकासुधेनेपालकृतवान् ।। राजा श्री नन्ददेव वर्ष

पत्र ९ क

२० ।। सम्वत् २६७ पौषकृष्णत्रयोदश्यां शुक्रदिन श्री रुद्रदेव पुष्याभिषेकं कृतवान् राज्ये ।। पुष्याभिषेकात् तुषारवृष्टिश्च भवति ।। राजा श्री रुद्रदेव वर्ष ८० मास १ ।। राजा श्री मृतदैव वर्ष ३ मास ११ महादुर्भिक्षं भवति ।। सम्वत् २९९ कार्तिककृष्णषष्टिशुक्रवार ।। राजा सोमेश्वरदेवपुष्याभिषेकं कृतवान् ।। राजा श्री सोमेश्चरदेव वर्ष ६ मास ३ ।। युवराज महिन्द्रदेवेनकृतं मह (हे) न्द्रसरोवरं ।। सम्वत २३९ वैशाषशुक्लपुर्णमी राजा श्री गुणकामदेवपुष्यापकृतवान् ।। सम्वत् ३०५ पौषशुक्लसप्तम्यां भौमवासरे ।। राजा श्री विजयकामदेव वर्षxमासx।। राजा श्री अरिमल्लदेव वर्ष ३१ मास ९ ।। तस्यराज्यं महादुर्भिक्षं च प्रादुर्भूतः दमेन अन्नकुडद्वयमभूत् ।। राजा श्री अभयमल्लदेव वर्ष ४८ मास २ म-

पत्र ९ ख

हामारि अनावृष्टि दुर्भिक्षप्रजाक्षय भूमिकंपछत्रभंग ।। सम्वत् ३७५ आषाढाशुक्ले २ पुनर्व्वसुसोमवासरे ।। राजा श्री जयदेव वर्ष २ मास ७ ।। राजा श्री अनन्तमल्लदेव वर्ष ३२ मास १० ।। श्री पशुपतिभट्टारकस्य ध्वजारोहनं कृतं ।। श्री पशुपतिभट्टारकाय मेखलां ददेत् ।। तस्य राजा कुराज्यं विता (त्ता) पहारिक मखनं भक्तापुरिनाशं करोति ।। सम्वत् ४०८ पौषमास जयतारी प्रविष्ठ प्रथमे ।। सम्वत् ४१४ फागुणमास द्वितीयावार प्रविष्टः खशिया ।। सम्वत् ४११ माघमास तिरुहुतिया भगतग्रामे प्रविष्टः ।। सम्वत् ४३१ माघमासतिरहुतिया ललीतग्रामे प्रविष्ट. ।। राष्ट्रे अतिसंतापः दण्ड प्र×ते पात्र सृष्टवंधनं महत्पीडा ।। ।। नेपाले युवराजिनी विरमदोविनां कृत्यः सोमेश्वरनीमं देवकृत पुनः चंगुदेवालयकृतं ध्वजारोह—

पत्र १० क

नञ्च ।। पुनः इन्द्रकुटप्रतिष्टितं ध्वजारोहनं च ।। जयशक्तेर्माता विरमेदेवी ।। तत्रान्तरे राजा जयानन्ददेव वर्षx।। अनन्तरे जयतुङ्गमल्लस्य आत्मज श्री जयरुद्रमल्लदेवस्य प्रभृतेन स्वकुटुंव श्री जयाली मल्लदेव पुष्याभिषेकं कृत्य राजामु (भु) क्तिमात्रं ददौ ।। समस्तनेपाल जयरुद्र ईति नवकोष्टराज्यं करोति नेपालभक्तग्रामे क्षत्रविक्रित वहुतर जयरुद्रमल्लस्वर्गास्थः ।। सम्वत ४४६ आषाढपुर्णिमा दारा ४ समेत ।। तस्य कुमारजायमान कतिपयदिवसान्तरे मृत्युः ।। पुत्री सती नायकदेवी नाम पितामहि श्री पदुमल—देवीनां प्रतिपालित पुत्री देवलदेवीद्वयोरपि भक्तग्रामे राज्यं कृतवान् ।। मण्डपादिप्रणालीकृत्यतिलमाधवस्थाने तत्रान्तरे आदित्यमल्लनेपालप्रविष्टः ।। सम्वत् ४४८ चैत्रशुक्लपूर्णिमा उत्तर

पत्र १० ख

फाल्गुणि शुक्रदिने ललितग्रामे दण्डेन भवति ।। तत्रान्तरे काशीश्वर सोमवंशहरिश्चन्द्रदेवसमागमनयेन विवाहं करोति श्री नायकदेवी कतिपयवर्षान्तरे शिष्ठेन विषभक्षनेण मृत्युः ।। कतिपयपात्रस्पष्टमानयति ।। तत्रान्तरे कर्णाट—वंशज श्री जगतिसहदेवसमाहित संगृह्य पुत्रि श्री राजलक्ष्मीदेवीनाम दशदिनान्ते माता स्वर्ग गछति पितामहया अतिकष्ठेन प्रतिपालिता श्री देवलदेविनामकृत्य वाली प्रतिपालिता जीविता च ।। अथान्तरे श्री पशुपति (म) ल्लदेववंधनं करोति नेपालसमस्त सम्मतेन उभयराजकुल—संप्रधानेन सं ४६४ श्रावणकृष्ण ४ ।। राजा श्री जयदेवकृतसर्वसम्मतेन सं ४६७ वैशाषकृ ७ तस्य पिता श्री जयानन्ददेवमाता ललितग्राम उत्तरविहार राजेन्द्रपालपात्रस्य पुत्री ।। जयराजदेवस्य

पत्र ११ क

पत्नी कर्णाटवंशज श्री रुद्रमल्लदेवनाम ।। तस्य पुत्र श्री तस्मिन् समये उभयराजकुलएकत्वं ।। सं ४६८ श्री देवल-

देविना कोषकृतं पशुपतिर्ददातु ।। स ४६९ श्री जयराज-देवेन कोषकृतं श्री पशुपतिर्ददातु ।। तदन्तरे पूर्वा×ताना-गतः ।। ।। अथ वंशावलिर्लिख्यते ।। नन्देन्दुशून्यशशि १०१९ सम्मत् शाकवर्षे तत् श्रावणस्य धवले मुनि तिथ्य-धस्तात् ।। स्वात्यां शनैश्चरदिने रिपुमर्दलग्ने श्री नान्य-देवनृपतिर्विदधीत वास्तुं ।। स्रष्टा नान्यपतिर्व्वभूव तदनु श्री गांगदेव नृपस्तत्सुनुर्न्नरसिंहदेवनृपतिः श्री रामसिंह-स्ततः ।। तत्सूनुर्भवसिंहदेव उदितः श्री कर्म्मसिंहसुतः तत्सुनुर्हरसिंहदेवनृपतिः कर्णाटकचूडामणिः ।। वाणाद्वियुग्म-रासि १२४५ सम्मतशाकवर्षे पौषस्य शुक्लनवमि रवि—

पत्र ११ ख

सूनुवारे ।। त्यत्क्वास्य पट्टनपुरं हरसिंहदेवादुर्देवदेशितप-थोथ गिरिं विवेशः ।। तत्सूनु जलधाविवेन्दुरुदितो वल्ला-लसिंहस्ततो जातो देवगणोपगीतमहिमा श्री देवमल्लो नृपः ।। तस्याभूदथ नागमल्लनृपतिस्तस्यापि जातः सुतः ।। प्रोद्यन्मूर्त्तिरशोकमल्लसुकृतिः किर्त्तिप्रतापोन्नृपः ।। तस्या-त्मजोनि जयास्थितिमल्लदेवस्तस्यादभून्नरनिधिर्जयपक्ष-मल्लः ।। यो विश्वविभूतहोग्रतरप्रतापो धर्म्मानुरक्तमति-रस्य च रायमल्लः ।। तस्मादभूद्भवनमल्ल इति प्रसिद्ध श्री प्राणमल्ल वसुकल्पतरुस्ततोऽभूत् ।। मार्त्तण्डवज्जनिरि-तोजनि विश्वमल्लस्त्रैलोक्यमल्लनृपतिः पुनरस्य पुत्रः ।। क्षीराब्धेरिव चन्द्रमाः किमु खेरुद्यत्प्रभामण्डल किं कर्णः किमु वार्जुनोजनि जगत्सारैरुदारैर्गुणैः । ए—

पत्र १२ क

तस्माद्विविधानवद्यविलसद्विद्यान्वितः श्री जगज्योतिर्म्मल्ल-नरेन्द्र पृ (थ्वी) तिलकिभूतांघ्रिपंकेरुहः ।। तत्सुनुः श्री सुमतिजयाजिताभिन्नमल्लात्मज श्री भूपतीन्द्रमल्ल तस्या-त्मज श्री रणजितमल्ल तेन वर्ष ४८ राज्यं कृतवान् आदौ सप्तकौशिक्यान्तं राज्यं कृतवान् पश्चात वृद्धसमये काशि-मरणं जातं ।। नेपालसम्वत् ८९० कार्त्तिकशुक्ल एकादशी एतस्मिन्दिने गोरक्षीयभूप आदौ द्वादश (स) हश्र-गृह — — — — — — — — —सोमवंशोद्भवमहाराज श्री पृथ्वीनारायणसाहबहादुरसम्सेरजङ्गदेवेन श्री रणजितमल्ल श्री जयप्रकाशमल्ल श्री तेजनरसिंहमल्लभूपत्रयं निर्जित्य दारुमण्डपललितपट्टनभगतपट्टननगरजयाधिशकृतवान् अयं च सप्तकौशिकिसप्तगण्डक्यान्तं राज्यं

पत्र १२ ख

कृतवान्वहुराजान निजित्य राज्यं कृतवान् वर्ष ५२ श्री शाके १६९६ माघकृष्णदशम्यां श्री पृथ्वीनारायणस्य पुत्र श्री प्रतापसिंहसाहवहादुरसम्सेरजङ्गदेवेन वर्ष २ मास ११ राज्यं कृतवान् ततः श्री शाके १६९९ मार्गशिर्षकृष्णतृति-यायां तस्य पुत्र श्री रणवहादुरसाहवहादुरसम्सेरजङ्गदेव राजा वभूव तेन श्री शाके १७०० माघशुक्लपंचदश्यां त्रितुंगाधिस श्री हरकुमारदत्तसेन आदौ निर्जित्य कालि-गण्डक्यांन्तं राज्यं कृतवान् : सम्वत् १८४६ साल आषाडा शुदि १५ वाईसपष जुम्लाराज्यं निर्जित्य तत पश्चात् सम्वत् १८४७ साल पौष शुदि १० जाजर्कोट थपाल दुल्लु दै —

पत्र १३ क

लेष अछाम छाम डोटी कुमाउं गढवाल श्रीनगरहरिद्वार तस्य दछिन गंगोत्तरी उत्तर वदरि केदारईत्यते राज्यं निर्जित्य ।। ।।

बोडे (धर्मपुर) को ऐतिहासिकता

–सुश्री सुलोचना चित्रकार

वंशावलीहरूमा नेपालमा शासन गर्ने गोपाल, महिषपाल, आभिर, किरांत वंशको नाम र तिनीहरूको सूची पनि उल्लेख गरिएको छ । तर वंशावलीहरूमा घटना घटेका धेरै वर्षपछि लेखिएकोले त्यति प्रामाणिकता छैन । हुन त किराँतकालकै पनि कुनै ऐतिहासिक प्रमाण हालसम्म फेला पार्न सकिएको छैन तापनि लिच्छविकाल पूर्व नेपालमा किराँतहरूले शासन गर्दथे भन्ने कुरामा सबै इतिहासकारहरूको मतैक्यता छ । यसै समयदेखि नेपालको भारतसंगको व्यापार सम्बन्धले गर्दा बाहिरी जगत्मा पनि प्रख्यात हुन थालिएको थियो ।[1] नेपालको आर्थिक,धार्मिक र सामाजिक विकासको प्रक्रिया पनि केही अंशमा त्यसै बेला शुरू भइसकेको संकेत दिने केही आधारहरू नपाइने होइनन् ।[2] तर उत्खनन् तथा वैज्ञानिक अन्वेषण हुन बाँकी नै भएको हुनाले किराँतकालको इतिहास स्पष्ट छैन ।[3]

किराँतवंशपछि नेपालमा शासन गर्ने लिच्छवि वंश हो तापनि लिच्छविकालको इतिहास ईशाको पाँचौं शताब्दीदेखि मात्र स्पष्ट छ । शक संवत् ३८६ को मानदेव-को चाँगुको अभिलेखले त्यस समयको आर्थिक, सामाजिक र राजनैतिक अवस्थाको जानकारी दिएको छ ।

यस पछिका लिच्छविकालका प्रशस्त अभिलेखहरू फेला परेका छन् जसले त्यस समयको प्रशासन व्यवस्था आदि विषयको पनि जानकारी दिएको छ । तैपनि लिच्छविकालको शासन केन्द्र कुन स्थानमा अवस्थित थियो, हालसम्म पनि यकिन हुन सकेको छैन । शिलालेखमा पाइएका स्थानहरूको आधारमा बस्ती बसेका स्थानहरूको जानकारी पाइन्छ । शिलालेख पाइएका स्थानहरूमध्ये ठिमी पनि एक हो । अंशुवर्मा ताकाको ठिमीको अभिलेखमा वासुदेवको पूजाआजाको व्यवस्था मिलाइएको कुरा उल्लेख छ ।[4]

लिच्छविकालमा प्रचलित धार्मिक सम्प्रदायहरूमध्ये वैष्णव सम्प्रदाय पनि एक हो । उक्त अभिलेखमा "गुरो-र्व्वासुदेवस्य" उल्लेख भएबाट[5] ठिमी प्रदेशमा त्यसबेला

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१. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य टेकबहादुर श्रेष्ठ, **पांचाली शासन पद्धतिको ऐतिहासिक विवेचना,** नेपाल र एशियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्र, २०३५, पृष्ठ ३. ।

२. ऐ., पृष्ठ ४ ।

३. ऐ., पृष्ठ ४ ।

४. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, **लिच्छविकालको अभिलेख,** नेपाल र एशियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, २०३०, पृष्ठ ३९३ ।

५. ऐ., पृष्ठ ३९३ ।

वासुदेवको मन्दिर हुनुपर्छ । अर्को त्यस भेकमा पाइएको लिच्छविकालीन अभिलेख बोडे नील वाराहीको हो । अभिलेख राखेको समयमा जिष्णुगुप्त याप्रीङ्ग गाउँमै बसेका थिए । अभिलेखको सन्दर्भबाट याप्रीङग्राम दोस्रो राजधानीको रूपमा विकसित भएको देखिन्छ । राजधानीको रूपमा विकसित भएबाट उक्त स्थलमा भव्य भवन तथा मन्दिर-हरू हुनु स्वभाविक नै छ । उक्त अभिलेखमा उल्लेख गरिएका याप्रीङग्राम, वैद्यभद्गुदि, लुन्श्री प्रदेश र दुप्रङ ग्राम यसै भेकका ठाउँ हुन् भन्ने अड्कल गर्न सकिन्छ । उल्लेखित ठाउँहरूमध्ये लुन्श्री प्रदेश विशेष विचारणीय छ । लुन्श्री प्रदेश तत्कालीन परिस्थितिको प्रशासकीय प्रदेशको रूपमा रहेको मान्न सकिन्छ ।[6]

पाइएका लिच्छविकालीन दुई अभिलेखमध्ये जिष्णुगुप्तको अभिलेखको करीब सातसय वर्ष पछि ने. सं. ४५४ को सन्दर्भमा गोपाल राज वशावलीमा 'वोद्य' देशको रूपमा बोडेको उल्लेख भएको छ ।[7] गोपाल राज वंशावलीको सन्दर्भबाट त्यसबेलासम्म बोडेले आफ्नो क्षेत्रीय स्वरूप धानी रहेको देखिन्छ ।[8]

चौधौं शताब्दीको शुरूवातमा वनेपाको वर्धन परिवार ज्यादै शक्तिशाली थिए । ने. सं. ४५४ माघ महीनामा वनेपाका अनेकराम भा र कस्त भा दुवै मिली बोडे देशमा आगो लगाएका थिए ।[9] यहाँ बोडे नामको पछाडि 'देश' शब्द जोडिएको छ । नेवारी भाषामा 'देश' को अर्थ शहर हुन्छ । यसकारण चौधौं शताब्दीको मध्य-तिर बोडे शहरको रूपमा व्यवस्थित भइसकेको प्रष्ट छ । उपर्युक्त घटनाको सोह्र वर्ष पछि अर्थात् शमसुद्दीनको आक्रमणको २४ औं दिनमा पाटन र वनेपा मिली ठिमीमा किल्ला बनाएका थिए ।[10] यसबाट तत्कालीन समयमा ठिमी प्रदेशको सामरिक महत्त्व रहेको स्पष्ट हुन्छ । उक्त किल्ला बनेको करीव बाइस वर्षपछि ठिमीमा पाटनका प्रधान पात्रहरू संयुक्त भई हमला गरेको बेला उक्त हमला-को दमन गर्न जयस्थिति मल्ल आफैं सरीक भई आएका थिए ।[11] ने. सं. ५०० मा यटपाटमा (भक्तपुरको कुनै ठाउँ) ठूलो कुलो बनाई सकेको खुशीयालीमा आयोजना गरिएको भोजमा ठिमीका जनता पनि निम्त्याइएका थिए । उक्त खुशीयाली भोजमा जयस्थिति मल्ल आफैं पनि उपस्थित भएका थिए ।[12]

चौधौं शताब्दीको उत्तरार्द्धमा ठिमी र बोडे भक्तपुर राज्य अन्तर्गत भइसकेको थियो । जयस्थिति मल्लका नाती यक्ष मल्लले भक्तपुरलाई एक गढको रूपमा परिणत गरेका थिए । ठिमी वलाछें टोलमा यिनले महादेवको मन्दिर बनाउन लगाएका थिए ।[13] ने. सं. ६०१ मा यक्षमल्लको मृत्यु भयो । यिनको मृत्यु पछि निजका छोराहरूले केही वर्षसम्म मिलीजुली शासन गरे । राय मल्ल भक्तपुरको स्वतन्त्र राजाको रूपमा देखा परे । राय मल्लको राज्यको

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६. डा. जगदीशचन्द्र रेग्मी, **नेपालको ऐतिहासिक भूगोल**, त्रि. वि , पाठ्यक्रम विकास केन्द्र, २०३६, पृष्ठ ५८-५९ ।

७. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य र कमलप्रकाश मल्ल, **गोपाल राज वंशावली**, नेपाल रिसर्च सेन्टर, १९८५, पृष्ठ ५६ ।

८. डा. जगदीशचन्द्र रेग्मी, **नेपालको ऐतिहासिक भूगोल**, त्रि. वि., पाठ्यक्रम विकास केन्द्र, २०३९, पृष्ठ ५६ ।

९. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य र कमलप्रकाश मल्ल, **गोपाल राज वंशावली**, नेपाल रिसर्च सेन्टर, १८९५, पृष्ठ १०४ ।

१०. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य र कमलप्रकाश मल्ल, **गोपाल राज वंशावली**, नेपाल रिसर्च सेन्टर,१९८५, पृष्ठ १०८ ।

११. ऐ., पृष्ठ १११ ।

१२. ऐ , पृष्ठ ११४ ।

१३. **भक्तपुर अभिलेख सूची**, श्री ५ को सरकार, पुरातत्त्व र संस्कृति विभाग, वीर पुस्तकालय, २०२०, पृष्ठ ६-७ ।

वर्णनमा ठिमी, नगदेश र बोडेको उल्लेख परेको छ।[14] काठमाडौं उपत्यकाको विभाजन पनि ठिमी, बोडे अविछिन्न रूपमा भक्तपुरकै अन्तर्गत रही नै रह्यो। राय मल्लको छोरा सुवर्ण मल्ल (भुवन मल्ल) ले (ने. सं. ६२६–६४४) ठिमी, बोडे र नगदेशमा क्रमश: ७००, ५०० र ५०० को घर बनाई शहर बसालेको उल्लेख[15] पाइन्छ। करीब पौने दुइसय वर्ष अगाडि 'देश' शब्द व्यवहारमा आइसकेको बोडेमा जयस्थिति मल्लका खास पनाती सुवर्ण मल्लले शहर बसालेको भनी उल्लेख हुनु विचारणीय छ। सम्भवत: ठिमी, नगदेश र बोडे यी तीनै शहरलाई सुवर्ण मल्लले सुव्यवस्थित गरेको हुनुपर्छ। पछिल्ला कालमा तीन शहरका राजाहरूको इर्ष्या, द्वेषबाट आपसी मेलमिलापको वातावरण दूषित भयो फलस्वरूप एकले अर्कोलाई सताउने प्रवृत्ति बढ्दै गयो। समय समयमा लडाई झगडा भै रहने हुँदा राज्यको सीमा स्थिर रहँदैनथ्यो तँ पनि ठिमी भने सधैं झैं भक्तपुर अन्तर्गत नै रह्यो। ने. सं. ७८० मा जगतप्रकाश मल्लले हमला गरी चाँगुको छाउनीमा आगो लगाई आठ जना मानिसलाई मारेका र एकाइस जनालाई कैदी बनाएका थिए। भोलि पल्ट ती पक्रिएका मानिसहरूको पनि ज्यान लिए। यस घटनाबाट रूष्ट भएर श्रीनिवास मल्लले बोडे, नगदेश र ठिमीमा आक्रमण गरी विजय गरे। तर भक्तपुरका राजा जगतप्रकाश मल्लले एउटा हात्ती र धेरै धन श्रीनिवास मल्ललाई दिएर क्षमा याचना गरी पाटनसंग सन्धि गरी तुरून्तै ती ठाउँहरू फिर्ता लिएका थिए।[16] ने. सं. ८१८ मा भूपालेन्द्र मल्लले ठिमीमा आक्रमण गरेका थिए। यस समयमा ललितपुरले भक्तपुरलाई सहयोग गरेकाले भक्तपुरले काठमाडौंलाई ठिमीबाट हटायो।[17] यसरी ठिमीमा कहिले ललितपुर र कहिले काठमाडौंले आक्रमण गरे तापनि अनेक प्रयत्न गरेर (कहिले मिलापत्र गरेर त कहिले अर्को राज्यको सहयोग लिएर) पनि भक्तपुरले ठिमी तुरून्तै फिर्ता लिएकोले ठिमी भक्तपुरको एउटा महत्त्वपूर्ण वस्ती रहेको कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ। जगतप्रकाश मल्ल पछि भक्तपुरको गद्दीमा जितामित्र मल्ल बसे। यिनको राज्यकालसंग सम्बन्धित कुनै पनि प्रमाणहरू हालसम्म यस क्षेत्रमा प्राप्त नभएबाट यिनको शासनकालमा ठिमी र बोडे इलाका (प्रदेश) मा सम्भवत: कुनै कार्य भएन होला। ने. सं. ८१६ मा भूपतिन्द्र मल्ल भक्तपुरको राजगद्दीमा बसे।[18] भक्तपुरको चौतर्फी विकासको लागि उनले निकै प्रयत्न गरे। भक्तपुरको मात्र होइन तीनै राज्यको विकास होस् र तीनै राज्यका जनतामा मेलमिलाप होस् भन्ने उनी चाहन्थे। तसर्थ उनले भक्तपुर र कान्तिपुरको साँगुरो र लामो बाटो चौडा गराई बाटोको दुवै तर्फ रूखहरू रोप्न लगाई बटुवाहरूलाई आराम गर्न पौवा पाटीहरू पनि बनाई दिएका थिए।[19] भक्तपुर र काठमाडौं बीचमा पर्ने ठिमीले बाटोघाटोको विकास हुँदा आर्थिक विकास गर्ने अवसर अवश्य प्राप्त गर्‍यो होला। त्यस समयमा ठिमीका जनताले विभिन्न धार्मिक कार्यहरू गरेको कुरा त्यहाँका देव मन्दिरहरूमा रहेका शिलालेखहरूबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ। उदाहरणको लागि सिद्धिकाली मन्दिर नजिकको शिलालेखलाई लिन सकिन्छ।[20] यसमा मानसि प्रजापति समेतले पाटीको निर्माण गरेको कुरा उल्लेख गरिएको छ। भूपतिन्द्र मल्लको समयमा भक्तपुरले कलाकौशलमा निकै विकास गर्‍यो। भक्तपुरको प्रसिद्ध

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१४. डिल्लीरमण रेग्मी, **मिडियवल नेपाल,** भाग दुई, फर्मा के. एल. मुखोपाध्याय, कलकत्ता, १९६६, पृष्ठ २०६।

१५. लिलाभक्त मुनंकर्मी, **मध्यकालीन नेपाल**, रत्न पुस्तक भण्डार, २०२५, पृष्ठ २३।

१६. ऐ., पृष्ठ २३।

१७. डिल्लीरमण रेग्मी, **मिडियवल नेपाल**, भाग दुई, पृष्ठ ४१०।

१८. ऐ., पृष्ठ २३५।

१९. लिलाभक्त मुनंकर्मी, **मध्यकालीन नेपाल**, रत्न पुस्तक भण्डार, २०२५, पृष्ठ ५३।

२०. **भक्तपुर शिलालेख सूची**, श्री ५ को सरकार, पुरातत्त्व र संस्कृति विभाग, वीर पुस्तकालय, २०२०, पृष्ठ ६–७।

न्यातगोल मन्दिर, ५५ झ्याले दरबार उनकै कृति हुन् । उनले ५५ झ्याले दरबार अगाडि आफ्नो सालिक राख्न लगाएका थिए जुन आजसम्म छँदैछ । उनले ने. सं. ८३७ श्रावण शुक्ल तृतीयाको दिनमा बोडेमा नील वाराही देवी गणको नाच नचाउन गुठी राखी ताम्रपत्र गरिदिएका थिए ।[21]

भूपतिन्द्र मल्लको मृत्युपछि ने. सं. ८४२ मा भक्तपुरको राजगद्दीमा रणजीत मल्ल बसे । उनी सोझा र धार्मिक प्रवृत्तिका राजा थिए तर त्यस समयको राजनैतिक परिस्थितिले गर्दा अनेक लडाई, झगडामा उनले अल्मलिनु परेको थियो ।

(ने. सं. ८५०) वि. सं. १७८७ तिर कान्तिपुर, ललितपुर र गोर्खाका राजा मिली भक्तपुरको अधीन भएको "ओभु" किल्लामा आक्रमण गर्दा ठिमी, नगदेश र बोडे मिली आक्रमणकारीहरूलाई हटाई 'ओभु' किल्ला फिर्ता लिएका थिए ।[22] यसबाट ठिमी भेगको सैन्य शक्ति बलियो रहेको प्रमाणित हुन्छ । सैन्य शक्ति बलियो नभए-को भए ३ वटा राज्य मिली गरेको आक्रमणलाई विफल पार्न सक्ने थिएन । यसबाट राजा खुशी भएर जमीन, सुनको गहना र हात्ती समेत जनतालाई बक्स दिएका थिए ।[23]

वि. सं १७९७ (ने. सं. ८६०)मा रणजीत मल्ल-ले उत्तराधिकारी रूपमा दुई वर्षे छोरा वीरनरसिंहलाई युवराज घोषणा गरे । यस निर्णयमा रणजीत मल्लको मठ्याहा छोराहरू र भिन्नीनीहरूले विरोध जनाउँदा रणजीत मल्ल अन्योलमा परे । यस विरोधबाट घोषित युवराजलाई खतरा हुनसक्ने सम्भावना भएकोले रानी आफ्ना दुई वर्षे छोरालाई साथ लिई ठिमीको शरण लिन गइन् ।[24] ठिमीमा उनको भव्य स्वागत गरी दुई वर्षे युव-राजलाई नै वैध युवराज घोषित गरे । ठिमीका जनताको निर्णयलाई नाला र अन्य स्थानका जनताले पनि स्वीकारे । ठ्यासफुमा वि. सं. १७९५ (ने. सं. ८५८) श्रावण कृष्ण द्वितीयामा ठिमीमा युवराज जन्म भएको कुरा उल्लेख[25] भएबाट रणजीत मल्लको विवाहिता रानी ठिमीकै हुनसक्ने सम्भावना देखिन्छ । ठिमीका जनताले भव्य स्वागत गरेबाट उक्त सम्भावनालाई थप टेवा मिले-को छ । ठिमीमा रानीले शरण लिन गएबाट र दरबारमा भएका त्याइते रानीहरूको विरोधबाट रणजीत मल्लले दरबारमा ठूलो सभा पनि बोलाएका थिए जुन सभामा बूढा राजाले ठूलो अपमान सहन परेको थियो ।[26] त्यस समयमा ठिमी प्रभावशाली भएको बुझिन्छ । कमजोर भएको भए भक्तपुर (केन्द्र) को निर्णयलाई वास्ता नगरी स्वतन्त्र रूपमा निर्णय दिने आँट गर्न सक्ने थिएन । यस-बाट रणजीत मल्लको नियन्त्रण गर्ने शक्ति कमजोर रहेको अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ । तर यस सम्बन्धमा हालसम्म यकिन हुन सकेको छैन । एकीकरणको क्रममा भक्तपुरको विजय पूर्व १८२६ वैशाख १ गतेका दिन पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले ठिमी-मा आफ्नो अधिकार जमाएका थिए । पृथ्वीनारायण शाह-को पक्षमा ठिमीका द्वारे मार्जु नरसिंह रहेकाले पृथ्वीनारायण शाह एकरात ठिमीमा नै बास बसेका थिए ।[27]

पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले भक्तपुरको एकीकरणको क्रममा ठिमी प्रदेशलाई प्राथमिकता दिएबाट ठिमीको सामरिक महत्त्व स्पष्ट हुन्छ । अहिले ठिमी भक्तपुर जिल्ला अन्तर्गत पर्दछ र यस जिल्लाको दोस्रो मुख्य वस्तीको रूपमा रहेको छ । प्रशासनिक दृष्टिकोणबाट ठिमी तथा बोडे अति महत्त्वपूर्ण थिए । ऐतिहासिक प्रमाणको आधारमा ठिमीको तुलनामा बोडे महत्त्वपूर्ण देखिन्छ । तत्कालीन

२१. लिलाभक्त मुनंकर्मी, **मध्यकालीन नेपाल**, रत्न पुस्तक भण्डार, २०२५, पृष्ठ ५७-५८ ।
२२. ऐ., पृष्ठ ६४ ।
२३. लिलाभक्त मुनंकर्मी, **मध्यकालीन नेपाल**, रत्न पुस्तक भण्डार, २०२५, पृष्ठ ६४ ।
२४. सं. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, **अभिलेख संग्रह**, भाग ११, संशोधन मण्डल, पृष्ठ १५ ।
२५. डिल्लीरमण रेग्मी, **मिडियवल नेपाल**, भाग दुई, फर्मा के. एल. मुखोपाध्याय, कलकत्ता, १९६६, पृष्ठ २४८ ।
२६. ऐ., पृष्ठ २४८ ।
२७. **ग्वाइस अफ हिष्ट्री**, हिष्ट्री इन्स्ट्क्सन कमिटी, लि. वि., कीर्तिपुर, डिसेम्वर, १९८२, पृष्ठ १९ ।

अभिलेख, ताडपत्र आदिमा बोडेमा परमानको नियुक्ति भएको देखिन्छ भने ठिमीमा द्वारे। मल्लकालीन प्रशासन-मा द्वारे पदभन्दा परमान पद विशिष्ट थियो। निम्न परिच्छेदमा ठिमी तथा बोडेको प्रशासनको आधारमा संक्षिप्त जानकारी दिइन्छ।

मल्लकालको पूर्वार्द्ध सम्मको प्रशासन व्यवस्थामा लिच्छविकालको प्रशासन व्यवस्थाको निकै छाप परेको पाइन्छ।[२३] राज्य अनेक विषयमा विभक्त थिए। ती विषयहरूको प्रशासन सामन्त रूपका पुस्तौनी हक पाएका स्थानीय प्रशासकहरूले गर्दथे। तिनीहरू केन्द्रका शासकको हुकुम मानी प्रशासन चलाउँथे।[२९] सामन्त शासित क्षेत्र बाहेक त्यसवेला प्रत्येक ठूला बस्तीमा स्थानीय प्रशासन चलाउने 'परमान' नियुक्त गरिन्थे भने साना बस्तीमा चाहिं 'द्वारे' नियुक्त गरिन्थे।[३०] मल्लकालमा उपत्यकाका तीनै राज्यमा केन्द्रीय शासन लँदै थियो। केन्द्रीय शासन-ले नजिकैका वस्तीलाई पनि नियन्त्रण गर्न नसकेको देखिन्छ। यस समयमा बोडे, नगदेश आदि साना वस्तीले पनि 'देश' भनी शिलालेखहरूमा लेखाएको पाइन्छ।[३१] त्यस समयमा ठिमी पनि एउटा ठूलो वस्ती भएको अनु-मान हुन्छ। ठिमी संगै नगदेश र बोडे दुई वस्ती थिए। आजको यहाँको स्वरूपलाई हेर्दा बोडेभन्दा ठिमी निकै ठूलो वस्ती रहेको छ। हाल ठिमीको वस्तीलाई दुई पञ्चायतमा विभाजन गरिएका छन् भने बोडेमा एउटा मात्र पञ्चायत छ। तर मल्लकालका त्यस स्थानमा रहेका शिलालेखहरूको आधारमा हेर्दा बोडेका अभिलेखमा पर-मानको उल्लेख छ भने ठिमीका अभिलेखहरूमा दुवार (द्वारे) को मात्र उल्लेख परेको छ। बोडेको कालिका मन्दिरको अभिलेखमा चोर्छे वहारका परमान परमेश्वर जुजुको उल्लेख छ।[३२] नील वाराहीको ने. स. ८०५ को शिलालेखमा 'जयधम पुरिस प्रमान' शब्द परेको छ।[३३] वि. सं. १७४२ (ने. सं. ८०६) को बोडे वाकाहा टोलको शिलालेखमा प्रमान मेरूजुको नाम उल्लेख छ।[३४] तर ठिमीका कुनै पनि अभिलेखमा 'प्रमान' को उल्लेख भएको छैन। यहाँका अभिलेखमा दुवार (द्वारे) को मात्र उल्लेख छ। उदाहरणको लागि केही अभिलेखहरू केला-इन्छ। ठिमी दोप्याटोल महादेव मन्दिरको भूपतिन्द्र मल्ल-को अभिलेखमा दानपति हरि शिवदेव दुवारको नाम उल्लेख छ।[३५] भूपतिन्द्र मल्ल र रणजीत मल्लको वि. सं. १७७८ (ने. सं. ८४१)को ठिमी वाहाखा टोलको अभि-लेखमा पनि शिवमान दुवारको नाम उल्लेख छ।[३६] वि. सं. १७८३ (ने. सं. ८४६) को ठिमी इनायटोल नारा-यण मन्दिरको पाटीको शिलालेखमा जयमोहन दुवारको नाम उल्लेख छ।[३७] यसबाट सानो बस्ती भए तापनि बोडेको प्रशासन व्यवस्थालाई बढी महत्त्व दिएको

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२८. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य र टेकबहादुर श्रेष्ठ, **पांचाली शासन पद्धतिको ऐतिहासिक विवेचना**, नेपाल र एशियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्र, २०३५, पृष्ठ १२९।

२९. ऐ. पृष्ठ १३०।

३०. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य र टेकबहादुर श्रेष्ठ, **दोलखाको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा**, नेपाल र एशियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्र, २०३१, पृष्ठ ४७।

३१. संशोधन मण्डल, **पूर्णिमा**, अङ्क ४, वर्ष २, पृष्ठ ७७।

३२. **भक्तपुर शिलालेख सूची**, श्री ५ को सरकार, पुरातत्त्व र संस्कृति विभाग, वीर पुस्तकालय, २०२० पृष्ठ २४।

३३. ऐ., पृष्ठ ६७।

३४. डिल्लीरमण रेग्मी, **मिडियवल नेपाल**, भाग दुई, फर्मा के. एल. मुखोपाध्याय, कलकत्ता, १९६६, पृष्ठ ४४६।

३५. **भक्तपुर शिलालेख सूची**, श्री ५ को सरकार, पुरातत्त्व र संस्कृति विभाग, वीर पुस्तकालय, २०२०, पृष्ठ ३१-३२।

३६. ऐ., पृष्ठ ३३।

३७. ऐ., पृष्ठ ७८।

बोडेको प्रशासन व्यवस्थालाई बढी महत्त्व दिएको देखिन्छ। डिल्लीरमण रेग्मीज्यूले बोडे प्रमानको मुख्य केन्द्र रहेको उल्लेख गर्नु भएको छ।[38] ठिमीमा प्रमान रहेको भए ठिमीको कुनै न कुनै शिलालेखमा प्रमानको उल्लेख हुनु पर्थ्यो, त्यो नभएकोले ठिमीमा प्रशासन संचालनको लागि 'द्वारे' मात्र रहेको बुझिन्छ।

ठिमीमा चन्द्रमान जोशीको जेठा छोरा अभयेन्द्रमान जोशीसंग वंशावली सहित तत्कालीन घटनाहरू टिपिएको ऐतिहासिक सामग्री छ। यसमा नेपालमा शासन गर्ने मल्ल, शाह र उनको आफ्नै वंशावली पनि टिपिएको छ। यसमा उनको वंशको एउटा लामो सूची छ।[39] उक्त सूची अनुसार अभयेन्द्रमान जोशीका पुर्खाहरूले अविछिन्न रूपमा द्वारे पद सम्हाली आएका देखिन्छन्।

भक्तपुरका अन्तिम राजा रणजीत मल्लको शासनकालमा भाजु नरसिंह ठिमीमा 'द्वारे' थिए।[40] भाजु नरसिंहले एकीकरणमा श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको पक्ष लिएका थिए।[41] यसैले उनी श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहका विश्वास पात्र भए। यसैले ठिमी तथा नजीक इलाकाको मालपोत उठाई सरकारलाई बुझाउने अख्तियार प्राप्त द्वारेको रूपमा श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहबाट पुनः नियुक्ति पाएका थिए।[42] उनी भीमसेन थापाको समयमा नै ठिमीको 'द्वारे' पदमा रहेका थिए।[43]

यसरी श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको उपत्यका विजयपछि ठिमी उपत्यकाको एउटा प्रमुख बस्तीको रूपमा रहेको छ। अभयेन्द्रमानका भनाइ अनुसार, भाजु नरसिंहपछि भवानीप्रताप सिंह र चन्द्रमान पनि ठिमीको 'द्वारे' पदमा रहेका थिए। प्रजातन्त्रको उदयपछि 'द्वारे' प्रथाको अन्त्य भयो।

बोडेको विभिन्न अभिलेखमा 'परमान' को उल्लेख हुनु र ठिमीको अभिलेखमा 'द्वारे' को मात्र उल्लेख हुनुबाट सम्भवतः सरकारी पद कालान्तरमा वंशाणुक्रम भएको पनि हुन सक्छ। तर स्मरणीय छ,ठिमीमा हालसम्म दुइचार खलकले आफ्नो जात लेख्दा 'द्वा' लेख्दछन्। यसकारण आफ्ना पुर्खाहरू कुनै विशेष सम्मानित पदमा रहेबाट कालान्तरमा तिनीहरूका वंशजले उक्त विशेष पद नै आफ्नो जात जनाउने परम्परा जस्तै रहेको होला। त्यसैले बोडेको ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीहरूमा 'परमान' उल्लेख हुनु सम्भवतः बोडे क्षेत्रको कुनै व्यक्ति 'परमान' पदमा नियुक्ति भए र सो पद कालान्तरसम्म उनकै वंशजले चलाई आएबाट उक्त वंशजका सबै परमान कहलिएका पनि हुन सक्छ। तर विशेष पद कालान्तरमा जात विशेषमा परिणत भएको भए तापनि बोडेमा परमान पद हुनु र ठिमीमा 'द्वारे' पद हुनु विचारणीय छ।

यसरी मल्लकालमा प्रख्यात रहेको ठिमी लिच्छविकालमा के नामले सम्बोधन गरिन्थ्यो स्पष्ट रूपमा भन्न सक्ने कुनै प्रमाण हामीसंग छैन। मल्लकालका भने ताडपत्र तथा अभिलेखहरू समेत पाइएका छन्। यसैको आधारमा मल्लकालीन यसको नामबारे चर्चा गरिन्छ। मल्लकालमा सर्वप्रथम ने. सं. ६८२ को ताडपत्रमा "श्री थेमी मध्ये स्थाने" को उल्लेख छ।[44] त्यस पछि ने. सं. ६९६, ७१० र ७४४ को ताडपत्रमा क्रमशः "थेमि मधेस्थाने" "श्री थेमिमधेस्थाने" र "श्री मध्येपरिस्थाने थेमि" उल्लेख छ।[45] त्यसपछि ने. सं. ८०८ को

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३८. डिल्लीरमण रेग्मी, **मिडियवल नेपाल**, भाग दुई, फर्मा के. एल. मुखोपाध्याय, कलकत्ता, १९६६, पृष्ठ ४४६।

३९. **भ्वाइस अफ हिष्ट्री**, हिष्ट्री इन्स्ट्रक्सन कमिटी, त्रि. वि., कीर्तिपुर, डिसेम्बर, १९८२, पृष्ठ २२।

४०. ऐ, पृष्ठ १९।

४१. ऐ., पृष्ठ १९।

४२. ऐ., पृष्ठ १९।

४३. ऐ., पृष्ठ १९।

४४. **भूमिसम्बन्धी तमसुक- ताडपत्र**, श्री ५ को सरकार, राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखालय, २०३९, पृष्ठ १।

४५. ऐ., पृष्ठ २-४।

अभिलेखमा "श्री मध्ये पुरे"[46], ने. सं. ८३१ को अभिलेखमा "श्री मध्ये पुरे"[47], ने. सं. ८३२ को अभिलेखमा "श्री मध्ये पुले"[48], ने. सं. ८३४ को अभिलेखमा "श्री मध्ये पुले"[49], ने. सं. ८४३ को अभिलेखमा "श्री मध्ये पुले"[50] को उल्लेख छ।

यसै बीच ने. सं. ८५३ को अभिलेखमा फेरि "थेमी देशयां" शब्दको उल्लेख छ।[51] यस पछि फेरि "थेमि" उल्लेख नभई ने. सं. ८५४ को अभिलेखमा "मध्येपुरी"[52], ने. सं. ८६८ को अभिलेखमा "माध्यपुरी-थान्य"[53], ने. सं. ८६८ कै अर्को अभिलेखमा "मध्येपुल देश"[54], ने. सं. ८७३ को अभिलेखमा "श्रीम्मधे परि थान्य"[55], ने. सं. ८८० को अभिलेखमा "श्री २ मध्ये पुरी थाने"[56], ने. सं. ८८४ को अभिलेखमा "श्री २ मध्ये प्रदेश्य"[57] नामको उल्लेख छ। यस समयमा यस ठाउँको नामको अगाडि २ वटा 'श्री' जोडिएकोले यसको महत्त्व बढेको स्पष्ट हुन्छ। त्यस पछि ने. सं. ९०० को अभिलेखमा 'मध्येपुरिस्थान"[58], ने. सं ९३० को अभिलेखमा "थ्वमि देशया" शब्दको उल्लेख छ।[59] आजको थिमी नामको स्पष्ट उल्लेख भने ने. सं. ९९८ देखि भएको छ।[60]

यसरी आजको ठिमी शुरुमा "थेमि" नामले बुझिन्थ्यो भने बीचमा "थेमि" नाम उल्लेख नभै प्रायः "मध्य पुले" र आज ठिमीको नामबाट यो स्थान प्रख्यात रहिआएको छ।

ठिमीसगै यसको केही उत्तर तर्फ रहेको बोडे भन्ने लिच्छविकालमा नै प्रख्यात भैसकेको थियो। नक्साल अभिलेखमा चर्चिएको "बौध्य विषय" हालको बोडे हो र लिच्छविकालमा यो प्रशासनको दृष्टिले आजको जिल्ला स्वरूपको रहेको अड्कल डा. जगदीशचन्द्र रेग्मीज्यूले गर्नु भएको छ।[61] त्यसपछि बोडेको उल्लेख गोपाल राज वंशावलीमा परेको छ। गोपाल राज वंशावलीमा ने. सं. ४५४ मा बोडेको नाम "बोद्यदेश" भनी उल्लेख गरिएको छ।[62] ने. सं. ७६३ को बोडे कालिका मन्दिरको अभि-

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४७. ऐ., पृष्ठ २ ९।

४८. ऐ., पृष्ठ २९।

४९. ऐ. पृष्ठ ३०।

५०. ऐ., पृष्ठ ३३।

५१. ऐ., पृष्ठ ८०।

५२. ऐ., पृष्ठ ३६

५३. ऐ., पृष्ठ ४१।

५४. ऐ., पृष्ठ ८६।

५५. ऐ., पृष्ठ ४४।

५६. ऐ., पृष्ठ ८९।

५७. ऐ, पृष्ठ ४५।

५८. ऐ., पृष्ठ १०१।

५९. ऐ., पृष्ठ १११।

६०. ऐ., पृष्ठ १२७।

६१. डा. जगदीशचन्द्र रेग्मी, **नेपालको ऐतिहासिक भूगोल**, त्रि. वि., पाठ्यक्रम विकास केन्द्र, २०३९, पृष्ठ ५८।

६२. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, **गोपाल राज वंशावली**, नेपाल रिसर्च सेन्टर, १९८५, पृष्ठ ५६।

लेखमा "वुदेया" भनी उल्लेख गरिएको छ ।[63] त्यसपछि ने. सं. ७७७ को[64] थेमिल टोल अभिलेखमा "धम्मपुरी देश" र ने. सं. ८०५ को नील वाराहीको अभिलेखमा 'जयधर्मपुरिन" भनी उल्लेख गरिएको छ ।[65] ने. सं. '९२६ को महालक्ष्मीको घरको अभिलेखमा "वोडे" भनी आजको यसको नाम स्पष्ट रूपमा उल्लेख गरिएको छ ।[66] यसरी ने. सं. ९२६ को अभिलेखमा "वोडे" भनी स्पष्ट उल्लेख देखिएकोले उपत्यकाको एकीकरण पछि मात्र व्यवहारमा आएको देखिएको छ ।

६३. **भक्तपुर शिलालेख सूची,** श्री ५ को सरकार, पुरातत्त्व र संस्कृति विभाग, वीर पुस्तकालय,२०२०, पृष्ठ १६ ।
६४. ऐ-, पृष्ठ ५६ ।
६५. ऐ., पृष्ठ ६७ ।
६६. ऐ., पृष्ठ९४ ।

स्वेष्ट (इष्ट) देवता तलेजु र मानेश्वरी

-लीलाभक्त मुनंव.मो

संसारको सृष्टिमा मानव समाजले स्वेष्ट (इष्ट) देवताको ठूलो स्थान राखेको छ । स्वेष्ट देवता कुन देवता हुन् ? स्वेष्ट देवतालाई मानव समाजले किन अंगाली राखेका छन्? यसलाई किन पूजा गरिन्छ ? कसरी पूजित भएका छन् ? स्वेष्ट देवतालाई किन पूजा गर्नु पर्छ ? यसले मानव समाजमा कस्तो फल प्राप्त हुन्छ आदि अध्ययनको विषय भएको छ । नेपालमा ब्राह्मण, बैश्य, शुद्र र क्षेत्री अथवा जुनसुकै जातिका सम्प्रदायले पनि स्वेष्ट देवतालाई पूजा गर्ने गरिएका छन् । नेवारी भाषामा स्वेष्ट देवतालाई इष्ट भन्ने चलन छ । तन्त्रशास्त्र अध्ययन गर्दा संसार सृष्टिमा देवदेवतादेखि यावत् जीवाणुहरूले समेत स्वेष्ट देवतालाई अंगालिएका र मानेर पूजा गरिएका पाउँछौं । धेरै देवताहरूलाई एकातिर पन्छाई मुख्य एक देवतालाई मात्र मानेर पूजा गर्नु नै स्वेष्ट देवताको पूजा गर्नु हो भन्ने गर्दछन् । यो देवता परम्परादेखि आफ्ना कूलले मानि आइरहेका, पूजा गराई आइरहेका मुख्य देवतालाई नै स्वेष्ट देवता मानिन्छ । यसलाई अंगालेपछि मात्र पर-म्पराको तथा कुलको उद्धार भई आफू निरञ्जन, निरा-कार भै देवतासंग लीन भएर जाने शास्त्रमा उल्लेख छ । अथवा स्वेष्ट देवतालाई अंगालिएको पूजा पद्धतिको फलले मात्र आफू जन्म पाएका समाजमा गर्नु पर्ने काम कर्त्तव्य सिद्ध भई राम्रो फल प्राप्त हुन्छ ।

स्वेष्ट देवता भनेको कस्ता देवता, कुन देवताला मुख्य देवता मानिआएका छन् अथवा क-कसले पूजा गरी आएका छन् आदि केलाएर हेर्दा जुन बेला मानवको सृष्टि भयो त्यस बेलादेखि ब्रह्मा, विष्णु, महेश्वर(शिव) देखि ऋषि महर्षिहरू समेतले स्वेष्ट देवता मानेर पूजा गर्दै आइरहेका शास्त्रहरूको अध्ययन गर्नेहरूले अवगत गर्न सक्छन् । संसारको सृष्टिमा ब्रह्मा नियम कर्ता, विष्णु पालन कर्ता र महेश्वर दुष्टहरूको संहार कर्ता हुन् भनी तन्त्र, मन्त्र र यन्त्रका शास्त्रहरूमा उल्लेख छ । तसर्थ जुनसुकै समुदायले पनि स्वेष्ट देवतालाई अति गोप्य राखेर एकै देवतालाई मात्र मेरो स्वेष्ट देवताका ध्यान यस्तो हुन्छ, पहिरण यस्तो हुन्छ र यस्ता आकृतिका हुन्छन् भनी निश्चित रूपले पूजा गराई राख्ने देवतालाई नै स्वेष्ट देवता हुन् भनी विद्वत् वर्गको भनाइ छ । यो देवताको पूजा जति सक्यो उति नै मेरो देवता यी हुन् भनी गोप्य गरी पूजा पद्धति चढाएमा स्वेष्ट देवता स्थिर भई आफूले पूजा चढाएको भावभक्तिले मात्र सिद्ध प्राप्त हुन्छ र चढाएका पूजाको फल प्राप्त हुन्छ भनी शास्त्रमा पनि उल्लेख छ ।

हिन्दू शास्त्रमा अक्सर स्वेष्ट देवतालाई मानव समाजले हिंसाकर्मले स्त्री रूप भएका महामाया भगवती देवीलाई अथवा शक्तिशाली स्त्री रूपधारण गरेकी देवीगणमध्ये एकलाई मानिएका हुन्छन् । अहिंसा-वादी र जैनहरूले पनि स्वेष्ट देवता ब्रह्मा,विष्णु,महेश्वर, र हनुमान्लाई मान्दछन् । बौद्धमार्गीहरूले पनि लोकेश्वर,

गोरखनाथ, सरस्वती, इन्द्र आदि अहिंसावादी कर्मबाट स्वेष्ट देवता मानी आएका छन् त कसै कसैले महादेवको रूप भैरव, नृत्यनाथलाई नृत्येश्वर भनेर अथवा कोहीले वराहलाई पनि स्वेष्ट देवता मानेर पूजाआजा चढाई आएका पनि छन् । सबैले तन्त्र शास्त्र बमोजिम आ-आफ्नो स्वेष्ट देवतालाई गोप्य गरी पूजा गर्दछन् । मेरो स्वेष्ट देवता यो हो भनी आगम खोलेर पूजा गर्नेले गरेका पूजाको फल राम्रो प्राप्त गर्न नसक्ने र सिद्ध पनि नहुने कुरा शास्त्रमा उल्लेख भएकोले सकेसम्म गोप्य गरी पूजा गर्दछन् । यो स्वेष्ट देवता भनेको देवतालाई अक्सर आफू जन्म भएको पहाड, पर्वत, कन्दरा, शहर अथवा माटोको हावा अनुसार आफ्नो परम्परादेखि आफ्ना कूलले मानि-आएका स्वेष्ट देवतालाई नै स्वेष्ट देवता भनी अंगालेका हुन्छन् । यसको केही विवरण कुलार्नवतन्त्रमा पनि उल्लेख छ ।

अब यहाँ मानेश्वरी कुन देवता हुन्, तलेजु कुन देवता हुन् अथवा कुन देवी देवतालाई कुन कुन राजाले स्वेष्ट देवता मानेका छन्, केही चर्चा गरौं । लिच्छवि राजा मानदेवले भगवती महामाया जगदम्बा देवीलाई मानेश्वरी देवी नामले मानी आएको उल्लेख छ । तर कुन मानदेव हुन् ? प्रथम, द्वितीय, तृतीय, चतुर्थ कुन मानदेव हुन्-इतिहासमा प्रमाण सहित खुल्दैन । प्रथम मान-देवले विहार निर्माण गर्न लगाई मानेश्वरी स्थापना गरेका इतिहासमा संक्षेप उल्लेख छ । दोस्रो मानदेवले संवत् १८० मा सौगलटोल पाटनको अवलोकेश्वर मन्दिरमा राखेका अभिलेख छ । तेस्रो मानदेव संवत् ३०१ मा सहोदर तन्त्रमा उल्लेख छ । त्यस्तै चौथो मानदेव संवत् २५९ को अष्ट सहस्रिका नामको ग्रन्थमा मानेश्वरी-लाई स्वेष्ट देवता मानिआएको उल्लेख छ, तर त्यो संवत्को मिति कुन हो इतिहासको तारतम्य मिलाई खोजी गर्नु बाँकी नै छ । तसर्थ मानेश्वरी हिंसा कर्मका अथवा अहिंसा कर्मका देवता हुन् यकिन गर्न बाँकी नै छ । तत्कालीन अवस्थामा तलेजुको नाम कतै उल्लेख छैन । पछि आएर तलेजुको नाम मल्लकालको शुरूमा नेपालमा अरि मल्लदेखि मात्र उल्लेख भयो अथवा हरिसिंहदेवको स्वास्नी देवलदेवी राजदरबारमा शरण पाई प्रवेश भए-देखि मात्र तलेजुको नाम सुन्न पाइयो । त्यो पनि प्रमाण-को लागि भक्तपुर तलेजु स्थानमा मल्ल राजा प्राण मल्ल-को पालादेखि मात्र तलेजुलाई दुर्गा भवानीको नामले उल्लेख भएका टिपोट प्राप्त भएको छ । वंशावलीमा तलेजु नेपाल प्रवेश गराएका हरिसिंहदेवले नेपाल संवत् ४४४ को मिति उल्लेख छ । तर धेरैजसो इतिहासकार-हरूले वंशावलीलाई मान्यता दिएको छैन । इतिहासका प्रेमीहरूले आजसम्म तथ्य प्रमाणहरू पेश गरेका छैनन् । यही भ्रमको अवस्थालाई प्रोत्साहित पार्ने कुनै कुनै लेखकहरूले मनगढन्ते कुराहरू लेख्न थाले । सिम्रौनगढमा हरिसिंहदेवले पूजा गराइराखेका तलेजु-लाई हरिसिंह देवकी रानी देवलदेवी नेपाल प्रवेश भए-देखि मात्र नेपालमा नाम सुन्न पाएको र तलेजुलाई दुर्गा भवानी नामले पूजित हुन आएको देखिन्छ । त्यो पनि माथि उल्लेख भएको भक्तपुरको तलेजु स्थानमा प्राण मल्ल-का तलेजु मन्दिर र कीर्तिहरूका टिपोटहरू उल्लेख सहितको प्राप्त भएको छ । वंशावलीमा तलेजु नेपाल प्रवेश गराएका नेपाली संवत् ४४४ मा हरिसिंहदेवले गराएका र हरिसिंहदेव ने. सं. ४४६ माघ शुक्ल तृतीयाका दिनमा दोलखाको तीन पाटनमा मृत्यु भएको उल्लेख छ अथवा तलेजु नेपाल प्रवेश भएको दुई वर्षपछि मात्र हरिसिंहदेव-को मृत्यु भयो । तलेजु नेपाल प्रवेश गराएको वा भक्तपुर-मा स्थापना भएका तलेजु भवानी विषय तथ्य पत्ता लगाउने काम ठूलो खाँचोको विषय बनेको छ । यही खाँचोलाई पूरा गराउन इतिहासकारहरूमा ठूलो जिम्मे-वारी आएको छ । लिच्छवि राजाहरूका स्वेष्ट देवता मानेश्वरी र मल्ल राजाहरूका स्वेष्ट देवता तलेजु भवानी बेग्लाबेग्लै देवता हुन् ।

तन्त्रमा ज्यादाजसो स्त्री रूपमा रहेका महामाया देवी दुर्गा भवानीको उल्लेख भएकोले लिच्छवि राजाहरूले दुर्गा भवानीलाई नै स्वेष्ट देवता मानेर पूजा गरी आएको इतिहासमा उल्लेख छ । यसैकाई नै लिच्छवि राजा मानदेव प्रथमले दुर्गा भवानीलाई मानेश्वरी नामले स्वेष्ट देवता मानेर पूजाआजा गरी आएका हुन् भन्ने धेरै जसो विद्वान्हरूको भनाइ छ । यही आधार लिएर काठमाडौंदेखि पूर्वमा रहेको पलाञ्चोक भगवतीलाई लिच्छवि राजा मानदेव प्रथमले स्थापना गरेका अभिलेख

तथा इतिहासमा उल्लेख छ । तत्कालीन समयमा तलेजुको नाम उल्लेख नभएकोले दुर्गा भवानी भगवती देवीलाई नै मुख्य शक्तिशाली देवी मानी आएका थिए । भाषा वंशावलीमा त तत्कालीन राजा पतिवर्मा ज्यादै बौद्ध धर्ममा झुकेकाले उनले एउटा घर निर्माण गर्न लगाई उक्त घरलाई मानविहार नामले सम्बोधन गर्ने गर्दथे भन्ने पनि उल्लेख छ । उनले त्यस विहारमा विना हिंसाकर्मका दुर्गा भवानीको नाम नै मान्येश्वरी नामले सम्बोधन गराई पूजा गराएको पनि उल्लेख छ । यो पनि अध्ययनको विषय भएको छ कि लिच्छविकालमा भगवती माहामाया दुर्गा भवानीलाई मानेश्वरी भनी स्वेष्ट देवतालाई मानी आएको शिवदेव प्रथम र अंशुवर्माको अभिलेखमा मानेश्वरी नै उल्लेख छ । तर कुनै कुनै लेखकहरूले मानेश्वरी र तलेजुलाई एक सूत्रमा समावेश गरी अथवा लिच्छविकालका मानेश्वरी र मल्लकालका तलेजुलाई नै लिच्छविकालका देवी हुन् भनी विना प्रमाण उल्लेख गरेका छन् ।[1]

तलेजुका बारेमा मल्लकालको शुरूदेखि नै नेपाल उपत्यकामा उल्लेख छ । सबैजसो इतिहासकारहरूको मान्यता प्राप्त गोपाल वंशावलीले मल्लकालको शुरूआत भएको बेलामा नेपालमा राजनैतिक कारणको हानथापले नेपालमा लडाई झगडाले व्याप्त थियो भनी उल्लेख गरेका छन् । तर तलेजु स्थापना विषय उक्त वंशावलीले उल्लेख गरेको छैन, भाषा वंशावलीमा मात्र उल्लेख छ । इतिहासको खोजी गर्ने तथा अध्ययन गर्नेहरूले तलेजु भवानी मल्ल राजाहरूका इष्ट देवता हुन् भनेर केही विवरण कोर्न लागे । अब तलेजु बिषयमा केही चर्चा गरौं ।

तलेजु नेपाल उपत्यकामा राजनैतिक दाउपेचले विभाजन हुनुभन्दा पहिले नै स्थापना भैसकेको छ । इतिहासमा यक्ष मल्लको मृत्यु भैसकेपछि छुट्टाछुट्टै राज्य विभाजनमा छुट्टाछुट्टै तलेजु स्थापना भएको देखिन्छ । भक्तपुर नेपालको राजधानी भएकोले अरू शहरमा भन्दा भक्तपुरको तलेजुको महत्त्व बढ्नु स्वाभाविक नै थियो । त्यसमा पनि भक्तपुरका तलेजु स्थानमा भएका मल्लकालदेखिका अभिलेखहरू र ठ्यासफूहरूमा उल्लेख भएकोले यसको महत्त्व झन् बढेको छ । मल्ल राजाहरू अक्सर तन्त्रशास्त्रमा विश्वास गर्दथे । तसर्थ मल्ल राजाहरूले तलेजुलाई नै दुर्गा भवानी महामाया भगवती देवी मानी इष्ट देवता (स्वेष्ट देवता) को कर्म काण्डको कार्य र रीतिथिति पूजा पद्धति आदि तान्त्रिक मत अनुसार नै तलेजुलाई स्वेष्ट देवता मानी पूजा पद्धति चलाएका र देवीको गुणगान गरी भजन कीर्तन आदि समेत गराई अभिलेखहरू कोर्न लगाएका अहिलेसम्म हाम्रो सामू निकै छन् । भाषा वंशावलीमा नेपालमा मल्लकालको शुरूआत अथवा राजनैतिक हानथाप भै ठूलो लडाई र झगडा चलिरहेको बेलामा ने. सं. ४४४ मा हरिसिंहदेवले नै तलेजु ल्याएका हुन् भन्ने आधारमा तलेजुलाई अद्यावधि नै परम्परा अनुसार कार्य सञ्चालन भै राखेका छन् । अद्यावधि नै यसलाई तलेजु पूजा पद्धति चलाउने ब्राह्मण जोशी आचार्यहरू (कर्माचार्यहरूले नै चलाउँछन्) काम गर्ने कर्मचारीहरूमा भण्डारी, चोका भण्डारी, मढीकर्मी, भोग पकाउने सुवालहरू, पूजा राख्ने नकीहरू, लायकु मिसाहरू र पानी ओसार्ने नाकः हरू आदि परम्परा अनुसार उनीहरूबाट नै कार्य सञ्चालन भइराखेका छन् । तलेजु हरिसिंह देवबाट नेपालमा ल्याएको भन्नेहरूले उनैका स्वास्नी रानी देवलदेवी नेपाल आगमन भएर नेपालको राजदरबारमा प्रवेश भएर हरिशचन्द्रसंग विवाह भएको इतिहासले देखाएको छ तर सिम्रौनगढमा नान्यदेवका ६ पुस्ताका हरिसिंहदेवले पूजा गराई स्वेष्ट देवता मानी राखेका तलेजुको बारेमा इतिहासकारहरू मौन भएर तलेजुका कथा तथा इतिहासलाई मान्यता नदिनु आश्चर्यको कुरा हो ।

मल्ल राजाहरूले भक्तपुर राजधानीको मुख्य केन्द्र गरी तलेजुलाई इष्ट देवता(स्वेष्ट देवता)मानेर कीर्तिहरू राखेर अभिलेखहरू राखेका शिलापत्र, ताम्रपत्र, सोनापत्रहरू अझै प्रशस्त पाइन्छन् । यी अभिलेखहरूको उत्थानमा "ॐ नमो भवान्यै नमः ॐ नमो मानेश्वरी नमः दुर्गा देवी नमः तलेजु माजु नमः" अथवा अभिलेखहरूको उत्थानमा सबभन्दा पहिले आफ्ना स्वेष्ट देवताप्रति सम्बोधन गरि-

१. तीर्थलाल नःघः भनी (राजभण्डारी), कुमारी र कुमारी यात्रा, प्राचीन नेपाल. संख्या १०९, पुस–माघ २०४५, पृष्ठ १-१२ ।

एका हुन्छन् । मल्ल राजाहरूले लिच्छविकालका देवता मानेश्वरीलाई पनि छाडेका छैनन् । भक्तपुर तलेजु स्थानमा तलेजु र मानेश्वरी दुवैलाई साथ साथै पूजा चढाई अभिलेखहरूमा 'स्वेष्ट देवता मानेश्वरी नमः स्वेष्ट देवता तलेजु नमः' भनी दुवै देवतालाई बराबरी पूजा पद्धति चलाइ आइरहेकोले तलेजु र मानेश्वरी दुवै देवीको पूजा अद्यावधि दुवै देवताको सञ्चालन भइराखेका छन् । लिच्छविकालका स्वेष्ट देवता मानेश्वरी दुर्गा भवानी भनी मानी आइरहेका स्वेष्ट देवता र मल्ल राजाहरूले मानी आइरहेका तलेजु भवानी स्वेष्ट एकै साथमा पूजा पद्धति सञ्चालन गरिरहेकोले लिच्छविकालका स्वेष्ट देवता भएका मानेश्वरी भन्ने जनजिब्रो एकसाथ राखेर अन्तिम मल्ल राजाहरूले समेत 'ॐ नमः मानेश्वरी नमः ॐ नमः तलेजु भाजु नमः स्वेष्ट देवता तलेजु नमः भनी अभिलेखहरू प्रशस्त पाइन्छन् । तर काठमाडौं र पाटनमा भने लिच्छविकालका स्वेष्ट देवता मानेश्वरीलाई भने छुट्टै राखेर देगु तलेजु नाम उल्लेख गरिएका हुन् भन्ने चलन छ । तसर्थ मानेश्वरी भवानी र तलेजु भवानी बेग्ला बेग्लै देवता हुन् । भक्तपुरका मल्ल राजाहरूले तलेजुलाई नै मुख्य स्वेष्ट देवता मानी आए तापनि पूर्वकालका लिच्छवि राजाहरूले मानी आएका मानेश्वरी दुर्गा भवानीलाई पटक्कै नछोडी काठमाडौंका हाडीगाउँकामानेश्वरी देवताकहाँ वर्ष वर्षको वैशाख शुदि पञ्चमीको दिनमा भक्तपुर तलेजु स्थानबाट देवाली पूजा पठाउने चलन अद्यावधि कायम छ ।[2]

भक्तपुर तलेजु स्थानमा भाएका ने. सं. ६६६ मार्ग पूर्णिमाको दिन प्राण मल्लले तलेजुमाथि मन्दिरमा ११ मजूर राखी जीर्णोद्धार गरेका अभिलेखमा 'ॐ नमो भवान्यै' भन्ने उल्लेख छ । त्यस पछि जगज्योति मल्लले तलेजु मन्दिरको शोभा बढाउन सुनका जलप लगाएका आफ्नी श्रीमतीको प्रतिमाको मूर्ति भएका देवीको विलम्पू चढाई विलम्पूमा नै अभिलेख कोरिएको मन्दिरमा अद्यापि नै छ । त्यसपछि निजका छोरा नरेश मल्लले ने. सं. ७६१ मा मन्दिरको दायाँ बायाँ सुनका मोलम्बा भएका मानिस जत्रो ठूलो सरस्वती र लक्ष्मीका मूर्ति स्थापना गराई प्रतिमामा नै अभिलेख लेखिराखेको छ । र ने. सं. ७५७ मा पनि मन्दिरको शोभा बढाउन मन्दिरको ढोकाको दायाँ बायाँ आँखेझ्यालको अभिलेख छ । त्यसपछि उनका छोरा जगतप्रकाश मल्लले तलेजुमा प्रीति राखेका कीर्तिहरूमा 'ॐ नमो भवान्यै र ॐ श्री ३ स्वेष्ट देवता भवान्यै नमः' उल्लेख छ । जगत्प्रकाश मल्लको मृत्युपछि उनका जेठा छोरा जितामित्र मल्लले तलेजु मन्दिरलाई जीर्णोद्धार गरी तलेजु मन्दिरको ढोकामा सुन जलप लगाई ढोकामाथि तलेजु भवानीका मूर्तिहरू र नृत्यनाथ वृष (साँढे) वाहन माथि नृत्य मुद्रामा दायाँ बायाँ नन्दी भृन्द्री लाला खितः बाजा बजाई नृत्य गराइरहेका मूर्तिका सुन जलप लगाएका दस हात भएका नृत्यनाथको प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापित गरिएका प्रतिमाका मूर्तिले अद्यावधि तलेजु मूलचोकको शोभा बढाएको छ । उनले राखेका धेरै कीर्तिहरूमा अंकित मितिहरूमा निम्न नेपाल संवत् ७९७, ७९८, ८०१, ८०३, ८०५, ८०८, ८११, ८१२, ८१६ आदि छन् । त्यस पछि उनका छोरा भूपतीन्द्र मल्लका कीर्तिहरू र निर्माण कार्यले भक्तपुरको शोभा बढाइरहेका अभिलेखहरू प्रशस्त छन् । त्यस्तै पाटनका राजा योगनरेन्द्र मल्लले चढाएका कीर्तिहरूमा 'श्री ३ तलेजु माजु' भनी सम्बोधन गरिएका अभिलेख र नेपाल संवत् ८२२ मितिको पाटनका राजा योगनरेन्द्र मल्ल र भक्तपुरका राजा भूपतीन्द्र मल्लको सन्धिपत्रको अभिलेखमा श्री ३ मानेश्वरी स्वेष्ट देवता उल्लेख छ त ने. सं. ८१८ को नै राजा योगनरेन्द्र मल्लको अभिलेखमा श्री ३ स्वेष्ट भनी उल्लेख छ । त्यस्तै लालमती देवी रानीले श्री तलेजु भवानीप्रति चढाएका मूर्तिहरूका प्रतिमा (शालिक) मा श्री ३ तलेजु नै उल्लेख छन् ।

नेपालमा प्रवेश भएका श्री तलेजु भवानीको मुख्य मूर्ति नै श्रीयन्त्र थियो । तन्त्रमन्त्रको प्रभावले देवीको रूप ग्रहण गरेकाले नै आफ्ना भक्तहरूलाई देवीले आफ्ना रूप दर्शन दिई भक्तहरूको संरक्षण गरेकोले नै तलेजु यन्त्रलाई स्वेष्ट देवता (इष्ट देवता) गराई अष्टमातृका गणहरूमा श्री तलेजु भवानी नाइकेको रूपमा तलेजु भवानी नामले पूजाआजा गराई तन्त्रोक्त विधिविधानले अद्यावधि

२. बुठी तहसिल तथा खर्च कार्यालय, भक्तपुर

पर्वपूजा सञ्चालन भैरहेका छन् । यो तलेजु यन्त्र विषयमा लामो कथा छ । यसको ठूलो ग्रन्थ नै तयार हुन्छ ।[3] यो यन्त्रलाई र लिच्छवि राजाहरूको स्वेष्ट देवता मानेश्वरी साथसाथै आफ्ना गणहरू सहित प्रत्येक वर्ष बडादशैंको समयमा आश्विन शुदि ७ रोजका दिन मूल मन्दिरबाट कुमारी चोकमा र आश्विन शुदि १० रोजका दिनमा कुमारी चोकबाट मूल मन्दिरमा भित्राउने र मूल चोकमा प्रदर्शन गर्ने अद्यापि चलन छ जसलाई आज-भोलि नेवारी भाषामा द्यो थाहा विज्याके गु, द्यो कुहाँ बिज्याके जात्रा भनिन्छ । यो जात्रा सञ्चालन गराउन मल्ल राजाहरूले प्रशस्त जग्गाहरूको अर्पण गरी सोको आम्दानीबाट गुठी चलाउन पर्ने व्यवस्था गरी कीर्तिहरू राखेका अभिलेखहरू धेरै यताउता छरिराखेका छन् । यो जात्रा हुने बेलामा नै राजारानीहरूको मूर्तिका प्रतिमाहरू (शालिकहरू) प्रदर्शन गराउन पर्ने व्यवस्था थियो । यी कीर्तिहरूले गर्दा नेपालको संस्कृति जगेर्ना गर्न धार्मिक स्थलको रूपमा ओगटिराखेका छन् । यी शालिक-हरूका कोरिएका केही अभिलेखहरू यस प्रकारका छन् :-

१) ॐ स्वस्ति ।। श्री ३ स्वेष्ट देवता प्रीति कामनान श्री श्री जय जितामित्र मल्ल देव दिवंगत: श्री श्री लालमती देवी सन सुवर्ण प्रतिमा दयका व दूंता ।। सम्वत ८२९ आश्विन शुदि ८ ।। शुभ मस्तु ।।

२) ॐ स्वस्ति ।। श्री ३ तलेजु स्के श्री श्री जय भूपतीन्द्र मल्ल देव स राजा धिस माता श्री श्री लालमती देवी सन थ्व सुवर्ण विलिपति दयका व दूंता ।। सम्वत ८३५ फाल्गुण शुक्ल द्वितिया तिथि कुन्हु ।। शुभ ।।

३) ॐ श्री श्री लालमती देवी सन दूंता ।। शुभ ।।

नेपालका तलेजु भवानी जस्तो मूर्ति नेपाल बाहिर कुनै स्थानमा भएको इतिहासमा उल्लेख छैन । भारतको हैदराबादको प्रताप गढमा तुलजापुरमा भएको तुलजाको मन्दिर भोषले खलकका शिवजी भोषलेले स्थापना गरेका तलेजुको नाम उल्लेख छ, तर नेपालको तलेजु भवानी र प्रतापगढको बुलजा देवीको पूजा पद्धति र रीतिरिवाज एवं थिति एकै किसिमका छैनन् । त्यस्तै भारतको उत्तर प्रदेश बनारस शहरको श्री अन्नपूर्ण देवीलाई पनि तुलजा भवानी भन्ने चलन छ । त्यहा हिंसा चल्दैन ।[4]

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ सूची

१. कुलार्नव तन्त्र
२. कालिका तन्त्र
३. शाक्त प्रमोद तन्त्र
४. मुनंकर्मी लीलाभक्त- नेपालको सांस्कृतिक तथा ऐतिहासिक दिग्दर्शन
५. रेग्मी, जगदीशचन्द्र- नेपालको लिच्छवि संस्कृति
६. प्राचीन नेपाल- द्वैमासिक पत्रिका, पुरातत्त्व विभाग २०४५ ।
७. गोपाल वंशावली- वीर पुस्तकालय ।
८. भाषा वंशावली- भाग १, २, नेपाल राष्ट्रिय पुस्तकालय, श्री ५ को सरकार ।
९. अभिलेख संग्रह- संशोधन मण्डल (१-१२) ।
१०. बज्राचार्य, धनवज्र-पूर्णिमा, अङ्क ४, पृष्ठ २० ।
११. राजभण्डारी, ढुण्डिराज- नेपालको आलोचनात्मक इतिहास ।
१२. सं. हरिराम जोशी- नेपालको प्राचीन अभिलेख ।
१३. ज्ञवाली, सूर्यविक्रम- मध्यकालीन इतिहास ।
१४. मुनंकर्मी, लिलाभक्त- हजार वर्ष अगाडिदेखिको ऐतिहासिक कथा संग्रह ।
१५. गुठी लगत- गुठी तहसिल तथा खर्च कार्यालय, भक्तपुर ।
१६. भक्तपुरको अभिलेख सूची- श्री ५ को सरकार ।
१७. हाम्रो संस्कृति- श्री ५ को सरकार, पुरातत्त्व तथा संस्कृति विभाग
१८. मुनंकर्मी, लीलाभक्त- मल्लकालीन नेपाल ।

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३. लीलाभक्त मुनंकर्मी - नेपालको सांस्कृतिक तथा ऐतिहासिक दिग्दर्शन, २०४१, पृष्ठ १२७ ।

४. Michael Allen, The Cult of Kumari, Page 48

प्रधानमन्त्री जंगबहादुर राणाका समयको नेपाल-भोट युद्धको ऐतिहासिक सामग्री

(गताङ्कको बाँकी)

३५. ताकलाखार देखि ल्हासासम्म जादा ३१।४।५ को समावास गर्दा ज्मा वास- ५९

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३६. षासा लापटां वाट झर्न्या वाटो हेर्न पठायाका अजिटन धोकल रानाले ल्याएको षवर भनि श्रीजनरल धीर शम्सेर जङ्ग कुवर राणाजीले श्री प्राइममिनिष्टर यानका हजुरमा चह्रायाको-

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येस जगाको रोका. भैरव कुंडमाथि. डेउरालीमा रहेछ. हिउंमा वस्नु हुन्दैन

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काठमाडौदेषि कुतिको वाटो गरि ल्हासा जान्या वाटामा

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ल्हचिजुंवाट कोस ७ गै–	३–	२२–	१०६।।
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'प्राचीन नेपाल' का निमित्त प्राग्–इतिहास तथा पुरातत्त्व, लिपिविज्ञान, हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ, मुद्राशास्त्र, अभिलेख, मानवशास्त्र, संग्रहालय तथा ललितकलासंग सम्बन्धित मौलिक रचनाको माग गरिन्छ ।

रचना संक्षिप्त तथा प्रामाणिक हुनुका साथै अद्यापि अप्रकाशित हुनुपर्दछ । तर कुनै प्रकाशित विषयका सम्बन्धमा नयाँ सिद्धान्त र प्रमाण प्रस्तुत गरिएको भए तिनको स्वागत गरिनेछ ।

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